

Australasian SPARTACIST



NUMBER 43

JUNE 1977

TWENTY CENTS

**"Dirty tricks" no excuse
for Whitlam's betrayals**

The long arm of the CIA

**CIA out! Abolish ASIO!
Dismantle all US bases!**

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a sinister gang of professional assassins in the service of the world's foremost imperialist power. In carrying out the covert military operations dictated by US foreign policy interests the CIA murdered the Congolese nationalist leader, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961; Latin American revolutionary, Che Guevara, in 1967; and made at least eight attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. These hitmen for US imperialism organised or bankrolled reactionary coups in Brazil, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and Greece. They organised the 1960 Bay of Pigs invasion designed to topple the Castro government and have infiltrated and subverted trade unions throughout the world. Within weeks of the 1973 CIA-backed coup against Allende, some thirty thousand workers and leftists had been brutally tortured and murdered.

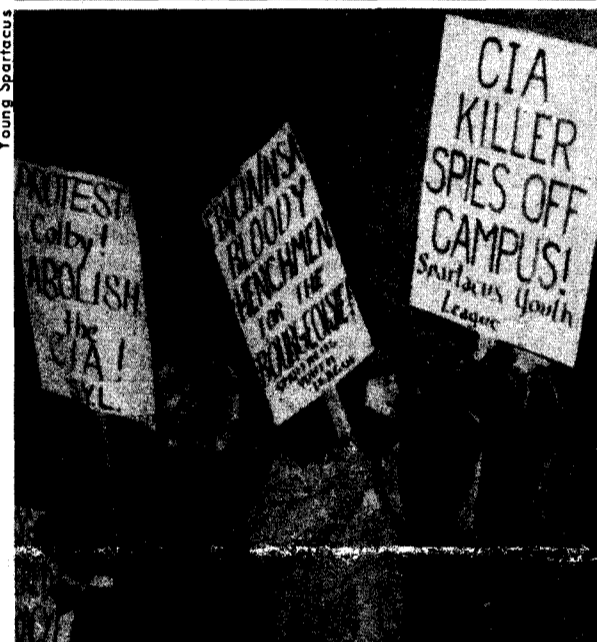
So when Christopher Boyce, a young employee of TRW (an electronics firm with CIA contracts) charged with being a "Soviet spy", told a Los Angeles court in late April: "If you think what the CIA did in Chile was bad you should see what they are doing in Australia", he stirred up an understandable hue and cry. What is the CIA doing in Australia? According to

Boyce, it has infiltrated Australian unions, particularly in the transport industry; furthermore, it systematically deceived Australian governments about the true nature of the ultra-secret Pine Gap "communications" base near Alice Springs. Victor Marchetti, an ex-CIA operative whose *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* exposed numerous CIA operations, bolstered Boyce's charges with the additional information that the "satellite-tracking" station at Pine Gap can tap all overseas telephone and telex messages to and from Australia, and that the CIA filtered funds to the Liberal and Country parties. Philip Agee, another ex-CIA agent, then exposed eight CIA operatives here and linked CIA money with the virulently anti-communist National Civic Council (NCC) of BA Santamaria and right-wing union officials associated with it. In an interview on ABC-TV Marchetti expressed his belief that the CIA acted to "destabilise" the Whitlam Labor government, albeit in a more "sophisticated" manner than in Chile.

There is every reason to believe all the concrete charges are true, but that is scarcely surprising. None but a fool could doubt that the US would maintain an intelligence operation in a continued on page ten



Young Spartacus



Spartacist-initiated demonstration in US (1976) against CIA. Top: Whitlam and former US Ambassador Green before the "coup". Whitlam cultivated friendly relations with Green, CIA.

Reactionary Ulster strike fizzles out

Though the bible-thumping bigot and ultra-rightist Protestant MP, Rev Ian Paisley, acclaimed it "a success" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May), the eleven-day reactionary general strike in Northern Ireland was undeniably a failure. The Protestant politicians and paramilitary groups whose Ulster Unionist Action Council (UUAC) launched the strike were demanding total suppression of the Provisional IRA (Irish Republican Army) and a return to the Stormont provincial parliament abolished by Westminster at the beginning of "direct rule" from London in 1972. But what this strike demonstrated was the sharp split in Ulster "loyalism".

The UUAC was in the anomalous position of insurrecting against the British state to which they have persistently pledged allegiance. Thus while his supporters waved Union Jacks and chanted "No surrender!", Paisley flung down the gauntlet of disaffected loyalism, threatening that if Britain "decides that Ulster is ungovernable ... we -- the Protestants -- are prepared to rule Ulster" (*News Letter* [Belfast], 30 April). At the same time such bastions of the "Protestant ascendancy" as the Orange Order, the Official Unionist Party and the Protestant clergy denounced the strike. James Molyneux, leader of the coalition of Unionist MPs at Westminster, condemned it as a "putsch" and expelled Paisley and his Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) from the already shaky coalition, declaring the strike posed the question of "who is for or against the union [with Britain]" (*Daily Telegraph* [London], 5 May). Inevitable optimists among the parliamentary parties predicted that a strike defeat would open the way to renewed "power sharing" with "moderate" Republicans. But just as the Paisleyites have been unable to mobilise a solid base to reimpose untrammelled Protestant ascendancy, so the "moderates" will be unable to force the Catholic population to submit to the British yoke and Protestant rule which are inherently inimical to its interests.

The successive defeat of every measure proposed by the "respectable" politicians demonstrates the impossibility of resolving

the Ulster conflict within the framework of capitalism short of a communalist bloodbath. Set at each others' throats by poverty and closely intermingled so that a territorial separation could only be achieved through massive forced population transfers, the working people of both communities cannot be united on simple economic or "democratic" grounds. It is only through a common working-class mobilisation for the immediate withdrawal of the British army and against the sectarian terror, combating both Orange (Ulster Protestant) and Green (Irish Catholic) nationalism, that an equitable and truly democratic solution to the Northern Ireland conflict can be achieved.

In marked contrast to the widespread support for the 1974 Protestant general strike which it hoped to duplicate, the success of this strike was dubious from the outset. In May 1974 a concerted slowdown by the workers at the vital Ballylumford power station outside of Larne cut electricity to a trickle and was the major breakthrough in the two-week general strike which toppled the Catholic/Protestant "power-sharing" provincial executive. But this time, though they vacillated for several days, the Ballylumford workers finally voted by 286 to 171 against participation. Even before the 3 May strike deadline, the overwhelmingly Protestant workforce of 8000 at the huge Harland and Wolff shipyard in East Belfast voted almost to a man against supporting the strike call. Though the key port city of Larne, where the 15,000-strong Ulster Defence Association (UDA) concentrated much of its strongarm activity, was closed by a walkout of wharves for several days, in other areas support for the strike dwindled rapidly. In Catholic-majority areas like Derry it was simply ignored. Despite a spate of bombings, UDA barricades and numerous violent clashes with police which resulted in a number of arrests, by midweek the strike was clearly in decline.

Although the paramilitary Orange gangs certainly played a role in forcing many workers to passively acquiesce in the 1974 strike, sup- continued on page nine



Ultra-rightist Orange leader Ian Paisley.

Melbourne WLM upholds exclusion of Spartacists

Over three years ago one-time Communist Party member Kathie Gleeson engineered the expulsion of the Spartacist League from Melbourne Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), allegedly to prevent our "disruption" from holding back the movement. Since then, under the firm thumb of Gleeson's bureaucratic clique, Melbourne WLM has disintegrated to the point of near-extinction. A vote last July almost dissolved it entirely; attendance at general meetings has been so small that at times they have been called off; the Women's Centre has been forced to move four times; the WLM contingent at May Day was so minuscule some feminists couldn't find it.

But when SL supporters attended the 20 March general meeting to present a motion condemning the proposed exclusion move in Sydney (which the meeting refused to vote on), it led to a decision to reconsider the Melbourne exclusion at an upcoming meeting on 7 May. Amongst the virulent anti-SL diatribes in the Melbourne WLM Newsletter, one activist's letter in the April issue captured the sense of political stimulation infused by the discussion over the SL's re-admission:

"How refreshing to read the Spartacist League's letter in the March newsletter! How long is it since we have had some really gutsy open political discussion?... If the movement is to survive, we must include all women, and encourage all forms of debate -- let's breathe again!"

The interest was further evidenced by the turnout to the 7 May meeting: 63 women showed up, six times the usual nine or ten! But WLM was not given the chance to breathe again. An SL motion affirming "the need for open political discussion within the women's liberation movement" and our right to participate in Melbourne WLM was defeated by a vote of 19 to 37. The meeting was an exercise in bureaucratic confusionism characteristic of WLM's "anti-hierarchical structure". As in Sydney the feminists focused on the SL's opposition to the conception of an autonomous women's movement. Yet when one feminist, Judi Gemmel, moved to define the basis for membership in WLM as "support for the continued existence of the Movement as an autonomous independent group", this clear-cut political motion was voted simply not to be voted! A final motion to simply affirm the original exclusion decision was also prevented from being put to a vote. The Gleeson clique justifiably feared this motion would re-open the whole exclusion issue because, according to the rules it has imposed on Melbourne general meetings, any motion setting policy for WLM -- including the re-affirmation of a previous decision -- requires an 80 percent majority at three consecutive meetings to be put into effect! Outraged by this shameless bureaucratism, nearly twenty women joined the three Spartacist League members in walking out of the meeting in protest.

But among those who did not walk out were none other than the self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist League (CL) -- despite their vote against our exclusion. In fact it was the CL representative, Ruth Egg, who had objected to voting Gemmel's motion ... because there had been insufficient discussion on what autonomy meant. Presumably then, if Egg had agreed with Gemmel's version of this nebulous concept she would have gladly voted for a motion which politically excluded not only the SL but all women who do not agree with the conception of autonomy. The CL's firmly avowed opposition to the SL's exclusion was further demonstrated when Egg joined the chorus of phony "disruption" charges by alleging that the SL had indeed been "disruptive" on at least one occasion -- in the Working Women's Group in Melbourne in 1973, where the CL voted for our exclusion. In that instance, as always, "disruption" meant that the SL argued for its politics!

The reaffirmation of this anti-communist exclusion reflects the continuing rightward drift of Melbourne WLM. In a letter to the April Newsletter, Gemmel denies the anti-communist character of the exclusion by noting that no moves have been made "to exclude women from other left groups", but then tries to justify the anti-communist attempt to exclude "alienating" SL slogans -- such as "Women's Liberation through Proletarian Revolution" -- from the International Women's Day march. She thus refutes her own prior argument: only the SL faces exclusion today because only the SL actively and openly upholds a communist perspective for women's liberation. "Women from other left groups" do not argue communist politics but instead capitulate to feminism. That is why we are such anathema to the red-baiting feminists in Melbourne WLM.

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission
Spartacist League/US

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Letter from the CL "Non"-feminists in defence of feminism

25.4.77

Dear comrades

In your anxiety to point to the centrist nature of the CL [Communist League] you choose to distort the *real* positions of the CL in order to erect straw (wo)men -- you then take great delight in knocking them down. As the latest victim of this type of operation I would like to answer the charges made against me in relation to the exclusion motion in Sydney WLM [Women's Liberation Movement] and the position I put forward at the "Women and Revolution" meeting -- I refer to the article entitled "CL, SWP oppose WLM purge" in the April issue of Australasian Spartacist.

Firstly there was some question about whether the SL [Spartacist League] had a right to even be present at the Melbourne WLM general meeting, let alone present a motion, given that the SL had twice been excluded from Melbourne WLM. On this question I spoke in favour of the whole question of the exclusion of the SL being brought up at a future GM [general meeting] of the Melbourne WLM. This would allow the SL to include material in the Melbourne newsletter with a specific date being set for discussion of the SL's exclusion. This was accepted by the meeting. I opposed those speakers who claimed that what happened in Sydney was not relevant to Melbourne and there was some discussion of what actually took place in Sydney. The SL were given the opportunity to present their view of what took place.

Whether a motion can be passed at a Melbourne WLM GM on the internal life of Sydney WLM is another question. As I was unsure of the "legalities" of this I pointed out that I considered that Melbourne women should oppose the move in Sydney and if it was not done in the form of a motion then Melbourne women could and should sign the petition that the SL was circulating. I do not view this as "capitulation to the prevailing tenor at the meeting" and will continue to oppose any moves to exclude the SL from Sydney WLM and will be in favour of the SL's readmittance to the Melbourne WLM.

Secondly, in relation to the "Women and Revolution" meeting and the differentiation I made between an "autonomous" women's movement and an "independent" women's movement. The position I put was that the women's movement cannot be independent from the class struggle yet should be "autonomous" in that it should be composed *solely of women*. This was in no way a statement on the politics of the WLM. The SL attacked me on this after the meeting (and have continued to do so ever since) simply because I had used the word "autonomous". Why do they find it so difficult to understand my position? I made it quite clear that every effort should be made to introduce class consciousness into the WLM through the intervention of revolutionary women. The SL chooses not to include the precise content I gave to the word "autonomous" and hence leaves out the most important part of my "explanation". They wish to catch me up in an apparent contradiction that is evident only to those who are overanxious to find one. They play games with semantics. Where "autonomy" is used in the context of women's struggles being separate from classes then we oppose "autonomy". There is no contradiction here for it becomes *purely a semantic point*.

On the question of whether or not feminism is counter-revolutionary -- I ask the SL -- do they see feminism as counter-revolutionary? I in no way stated that feminism was a "step toward socialism" (another SL distortion) but rather that a woman's consciousness about her own oppression *can* lead on to a revolutionary consciousness. This will only happen if feminists begin to question the nature of this society and begin to see the way in which capitalism has adapted the patriarchy [sic] to its own needs both furthering and modifying the oppression of women. That there is a real material basis to women's oppression under capitalism needs to be recognised. To come to this position it is necessary to recognise that men are simply the *agents* of women's oppression rather than the "number one enemy"; consequent on this is the necessity to recognise the centrality of the working class as the only class capable of overthrowing capitalism. I address a further question to the SL -- do they accept that many feminists particularly feminist writers have played a major role in developing our understanding of women's oppression? The SL displays a real *lack* of understanding of the ways in which women are oppressed psychologically and socially and as a result they fail to

recognise that it is only in meetings composed solely of women that *many* women gain the confidence to express themselves without feeling intimidated by the presence of men. This applies as much to working class women as it does to bourgeois women and was recognised very early on in the women's movement. This in no way means that I support separate women's trade unions -- although I do support women caucusing inside either their union or rank and file group. The SL cannot understand how this can *contribute* to male workers taking up the problems of women -- all they can see is an act of divisiveness.

While it is to be hoped that in future I will be quoted accurately this is unlikely to occur as the SL's entire existence is based on exposing the "errors" of other left groups -- particularly the ones they believe are the closest to a true revolutionary position. The CL appears to fall into this category so that if the SL cannot find a genuine slip they will invent one in order to keep up the barage [sic]. *They* are never likely to make mistakes as they refuse to dirty their fingers in any kind of real involvement in either the movements of the oppressed or the working class itself.

Ruth Egg

PS. I noticed on p. 7 in the article on Unemployment that the SWP and the IS are accused of becoming *errand boys* for class traitors. For an organisation that insists on such precision in its language I ask myself, is this a mistake?

★ ★ ★

Asp replies: The Pabloist Communist League and its international co-thinkers in the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) have numerous and fundamental programmatic differences with the Spartacist tendency's Leninist position on the woman question. Yet Cde Egg chooses to devote the bulk of her lengthy letter to remonstrating against picayune and technical inaccuracies (all of which appeared in a single brief paragraph). The entire tone and content of her letter, however, amply confirm the political point we made: the centrist CL's craven capitulation to feminism.

Firstly, if Egg did not herself speak "*in opposition*" to the motion being put, as we reported in April, she *expressed agreement* with those who did. She denies capitulating to the tenor of the meeting, only to express concern over "legalities" and to graciously remind us that "there was some question [in whose mind, comrade?] about whether the SL had a right [!] to even be present". No capitulator this -- merely one who subordinates the principled question of anti-communist exclusionism to the dubious and parochial "rights" and "legalities" determined by the feminists!

As for our failure to adequately explain the "precise content" the CL gives to "autonomy", we have already dealt with its duplicitous fence-straddling on that question in last month's *Australasian Spartacist* (see "Which way forward for women's liberation?" and "Feminist purge defeated ..."). Egg *opposes* "women's struggles

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Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: Three dollars for the next twelve issues (one year).

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST is registered at the GPO, Sydney for posting as a newspaper -- Category C.

Printed by Maxwell Printing Company Pty Ltd, 862 Elizabeth Street, Waterloo, NSW 2017.

Harry Bridges retires, honoured by bosses and Stalinists

Class-struggle militants fight to save US waterside union

After running the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU -- which covers wharfies and storemen on the West Coast of the US) for forty years, ex-Aussie Harry Bridges stepped down at the recent ILWU national convention in Seattle. Bridges built a militant reputation based on his role in the 1934 San Francisco general strike which established the union, his long fight against deportation on charges of being a "communist" and his liberal use of radical verbiage. But this "militant" leaves behind him a union whose very existence is at stake over the next few years.

Bridges' notorious "M & M" (mechanisation and modernisation) contracts allowed the elimination of over half of all West Coast longshoremen's jobs through containerisation, in exchange for a Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP -- similar to a guaranteed minimum wage provision covering Australian watersiders) that now is also being slashed. Even more massive unemployment threatens the ILWU-organised agricultural workers in Hawaii, where sugar and pineapple firms are moving to low-wage areas in Southeast Asia. The economic disintegration of two of the union's three divisions -- including longshore, which has historically been the backbone of the ILWU -- greatly concerned most of the delegates to the convention. The drastic extent of job losses in San Francisco longshore, which are already spreading throughout the union, was brought home to delegates from all ports.

The Communist Party of Australia's *Tribune* (4 May 1977), in reporting Bridges' retirement, acclaimed him as "the last of the radical union leaders". *Tribune* lauds Bridges for earning only

Minority reports by Mandel were a blistering attack on the policies of the ILWU leadership. Though shortened by bureaucratic harassment, the reports put forward a fighting program to restore the strength of the ILWU, forcing many delegates to respond to these demands in the continuing debates over the union's strategy. Mandel's minority report on longshore called centrally for dumping the present contract (similar to an award) and bringing the entire ILWU, along with other maritime unions, out on a Coast-wide strike to win a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. Mandel also attacked the manoeuvring by Bridges and the SF Local 10 leadership to declare San Francisco a "low work opportunity port", which would open the door to forced transfers of longshoremen to other ports. And he hit the "steady-man" clause which has undercut the union's dispatching of jobs from the hiring hall.

In his warehouse report Mandel denounced the wretched betrayal of the continuing Handyman strike (now in its ninth month). Even though a striker was run down and killed by a scab truck crashing the picket line last August, the ILWU tops called neither sympathy strikes nor mass picket lines, instead ordering union members in other warehouses to continue to handle scab Handyman goods.

In a convention dominated by bureaucrats and local officials, the minority report on longshore nevertheless got about 30 votes from the 451 delegates.

The fight for jobs was also sharply posed when the Seattle longshore local's proposal for a six-hour day at eight-hours pay came before the convention. Stan Gow pointed out that two major

Militant Caucus protests against exclusion of Soviet delegation

The following resolution was submitted to the 22nd convention of the ILWU by the Militant Caucus of Local 6.

The exclusion of the Soviet delegation by the Carter administration, spearheaded by the reactionary Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO, is a calculated blow against international labor solidarity and in the service of the government's perpetual anti-Soviet, anti-communist campaign. The government's refusal to grant visas to these trade unionists exposes the hypocrisy of Carter's campaign for "human rights" for Soviet dissidents and lays bare the fraudulent nature of the Helsinki accords.

The ILWU demands that visas be granted immediately to these official representatives of the Soviet trade unions. Denial of the visas represents an attack on the Soviet Union, which despite the repression of the working class, still embodies the economic forms and historic achievements resulting from the expropriation of capitalism by the Soviet working class, a gain for all workers.

The union will send a delegation to the Peace Arch at the Canadian-American border to demonstrate for the admission of the Soviet delegation and calls on the British Columbia Federation of Labour to escort the Soviets to the border and to join the demonstration.

supported by students, against the conversion of fields into home units on Oahu. The workers won such massive support that the state government reportedly decided to buy the land and maintain agricultural production.

It was evident at this convention that the only sharp challenge to the pattern of bureaucratically engineered defeat is the program of the Militant Caucus. The reformist pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), which has long had a fond relationship with Bridges and the mantle of the "left wing" in the union, has lost a lot of ground. It has been the errand boy for the ILWU bureaucracy for so long that any other role is virtually inconceivable on both sides.

The major function of Communist Party supporters at the convention was to act as hatchetmen against the Militant Caucus. The CP's West Coast newspaper, *People's World*, ran three consecutive convention-related articles specifically attacking the caucus and Bob Mandel. Early on in the convention proceedings CP supporter Joe Figueiredo and various bureaucrats began baiting the caucus as "paid company agents". But several delegates, including Los Angeles Local 13 president Art Almeida, took to the convention floor to protest against and put an end to this time-worn Stalinist slander.

On the third day of the convention, CP supporters issued a slanderous leaflet denouncing the Militant Caucus for alleged racism. This was in response to Mandel's opposition to a motion calling for an open-ended longshore boycott of all South African and Rhodesian cargo, which would be implemented *only* if the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) agreed to allow it in the next contract!

The utter hypocrisy of the CP knows no bounds. Speaking on the floor against the hypocritical motion, Mandel pointed out that it is these fakers who have sabotaged *every* concrete proposal and action in solidarity with the South African black masses. Last July, during the student and worker uprisings, CP supporters opposed a motion by Stan Gow to immediately implement an already adopted Local 10 motion to boycott South African and Rhodesian goods, on the cowardly grounds that such action might endanger PGP payments! Again in August, on the very eve of the Johannesburg general strike, CP ally Leo Robinson moved to put off any action indefinitely and kick the matter to the national union leadership for more "study"!

At every point, it has been the supporters of the Militant Caucus who have called for concrete actions to aid the South African masses, not just paper resolutions which "promise" action if only the bosses will allow it. In debate on the boycott motion, Mandel counterposed a strategy of specific solidarity actions. Such action would actually support the black students and workers, while an on-going boycott of everything South African, if successfully implemented, would in fact lead to more unemployment of the black working class, thus dampening its ability to struggle.

Continued on page four



Harry Bridges crossing ILWU office workers' picket line, 1975 (left). Militant Caucus (right) opposes Bridges' betrayals.

\$28,000 per year at his union post (far less than most American union bureaucrats reward themselves) -- "about what he would have earned working on the docks" (the American wharfie who makes anywhere near that amount is rare indeed). But this reformist fan club of the equally reformist Bridges neglected to mention the additional \$35,000 per year which he got in his simultaneous capacity as a San Francisco Port Commissioner -- as a direct representative of the shipowners' interests! "US shipowners will breathe a sigh of relief", whined *Tribune*, "when Harry Bridges retires". But, as should be clear, Harry departs with the heart-felt praise of management officials who value the labour peace he imposed on the West Coast waterfront.

Despite the massive problems Bridges bequeathes to the ILWU membership, the union still is a reservoir of the most militant traditions of the American working class. There is determination among the membership not to surrender their hard-won gains without a fight. The crippling class collaboration of Bridges and his would-be successors did not go unopposed at the convention. Though the bourgeois media focused on Bridges' retirement, it was forced to take note of a class-struggle opposition led by Bob Mandel, delegate from warehouse Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus (MC -- which bases itself on the Trotskyist Transitional Program and is politically supported by the Spartacist League/US), and fraternal delegates Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, co-editors of the "Longshore Militant" in Local 10. The *New York Times* (24 April) reported:

"In its challenges to majority policy statements, a small but vocal group of union members served notice that the waterfront still harbored workers as radical as Mr. Bridges was when he led the historic three-day general strike in San Francisco in 1934 that established his leadership and the union's basic strength."

longshore locals were now on record for the shorter workshift (Local 10 having voted to strike for it last year), and argued for the strike action necessary to win the demand.

The bureaucratic counterattack against the Seattle "six-for-eight" motion was flagging (the main contenders in the upcoming elections being reluctant to openly oppose it) when Bridges finally stepped into the fray. Drawing on the 1934 strike, Bridges argued that even with the Bay Area labour movement mobilised in support, the longshoremen had been able to win a reduced workday only with a reduction in pay. It is certainly the most defeatist logic to maintain that what was won 40 years ago, when the union was fighting to win a hiring hall, is the limit of what can be fought for today! But most of the delegates were unwilling to buck Bridges and dutifully killed the motion.

The alternative to taking on the capitalists directly in a fight for jobs is pitting worker against worker in a scramble for the dwindling amount of available work. The ILWU has already engaged in despicable raiding against other maritime unions. This fratricidal warfare is now beginning to erupt within the union.

Mushrooming unemployment is a threat throughout the union. In warehouse, 15 percent of the membership is currently unemployed. And in Hawaii, with over 20,000 of the union's 55,000 members, the union faces the closure of large sugar and pineapple plantations. Estimates are that unemployment could be jacked up to 20 percent on the islands, with 50 percent of key ILWU locals being laid off.

The Militant Caucus has called for the fields to be expropriated without compensation and for agricultural workers committees to take over the plantations to save their jobs. Recent struggles in Hawaii already point in this direction. Among the Hawaiian delegates were several who participated in a recent battle by agricultural workers,

British SWP, IMG embrace police as "workers"

EDITOR'S NOTE: On May Day the International Socialists, Australian co-thinkers of the British SWP, sponsored a forum in Sydney by British SWPer Andy Milner. Challenged by a Spartacist supporter to defend the SWP's pro-cop position described below, Milner attempted to cover up the SWP's betrayal of basic Marxist principles by scoffing limply that bringing police into the labour movement is a "marginal" question!

LONDON -- The 110,000-member Police Federation in Britain announced in March that it wanted "more of the privileges of a trade union". Claiming they had been jobbed out of a 6 [pound]-a-week pay increase given to public employees, the Federation began a boycott of new procedures set up to investigate complaints against the police. The Labour government's home secretary, Merlyn Rees, promptly invited them to join the TUC (Trades Union Congress) in a television interview.

The Communist Party of Great Britain rushed to give the cops "wholehearted support", claiming the question was of "crucial importance" (*Morning Star*, 5 March). Following hard on their heels in saluting the latest "recruits to the struggle" were the reformist-syndicalists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP -- formerly International Socialists). Beginning with the issue of 12 March, a number of articles in the *Socialist Worker* have excitedly speculated on the revolutionary potential of the hired thugs of the capitalist class.

The simple-minded economism and idiotic workerism of the British SWP led it to print in all seriousness the photographs and captions we reproduce here, along with assurances that the cops are simply "working class lads" who must see "as a result of their own struggles" that the police are used "in the main [!] to protect those with property". *Socialist Worker* argues that through joining the TUC and fighting for the right to strike police would have their "eyes opened". And if they could fight for higher wages they wouldn't need "the frustration to be released in other ways" (presumably meaning if they got more money they wouldn't go on bashing in heads and committing racist atrocities such as the police rampage in Notting Hill last August).

One wonders what the readership of *Socialist Worker* makes of this "turn" after reading issue after issue where police atrocities are stressed by the SWP in order to build up a flashy "anti-racist" image. Better working conditions and more wages for the police mean only that they will be more effective in carrying out their suppression of resistance to capitalism. Despite the image of the friendly London "bobby" touted by the tourist industry, British police are no different from their counterparts throughout the capitalist world.

The bourgeois *Economist* is rather more perceptive, noting that the police grievances go far

beyond the wage claims the SWP has played up. The cops want "protection from wrongful dismissal" and more "independence" for Federation activities -- a bonapartist demand for independence from outside control. And it is certainly not a coincidence that the chosen method of battle is, as the *Economist* (12 March) puts it in an article entitled "Police -- Not Just Money": "Showing a bit of muscle by refusing to cooperate in working the new complaints system that includes an independent review by non-police".

The pseudo-Trotskyists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the United Secretariat, certainly don't want to be kept out of this new arena of "class struggle". In a remarkable display of mental agility, they discovered an angle which amounts to putting out a welcome mat for the cops. It is, you see, a question of *tactics* (for the IMG there are almost never any principles). Recruiting cops into the existing unions is a tactic which will help attack not the unions, but the police, says *Red Weekly* (10 March)!

While not quite up to advocating that the Police Federation join the TUC *en bloc*, the IMG is pleased to have discovered the tactic of having individual cops join! Meanwhile they haven't murmured a word of criticism of the shameless enthusiasm for the police found in the pages of *Socialist Worker*. But of course the IMG currently claims that the SWP is a revolutionary organisation and in no way an obstacle to the British revolution.

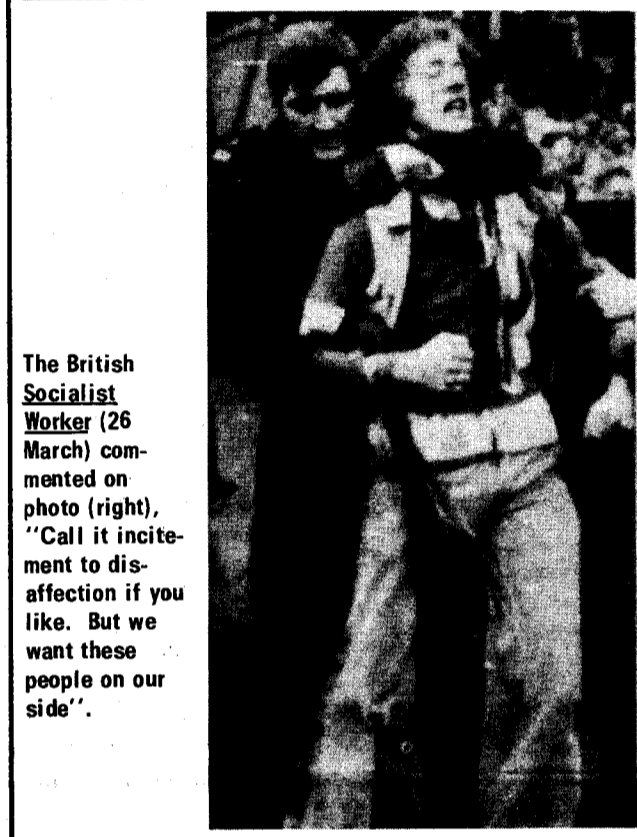
The IMG has so far refused to publicly justify its position in favour of recruitment of the racist capitalist thugs into workers organisations, despite challenges to do so during its reformist campaigns for the Greater London Council. However, IMG demagogue Tariq Ali assured London Spartacist Group members that the IMG did indeed want the cops in the unions. While exiting from a meeting in the heavily Asian Southall district of London on 14 April, Ali loftily announced, "The Spartacists and the bourgeoisie want to keep the police out of the unions". Indeed we do.

We expect that Tariq Ali will try to duck this issue during his upcoming tour [which since had to be cancelled because the reactionary US government refused Ali an entry visa] in the United States, since the reformist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP -- "fraternal supporter" of the unprincipled bloc making up the "United Secretariat") not so long ago attacked the Healyites on precisely this issue. When New York City cops went on strike in 1971, the Workers League insisted that cops were part of a general upsurge of all city labour, printing photos of "militant policemen" under the headline "New York Labor Begins Showdown". The American SWP, dusting off its Marxist books, discovered that those championing the cops were in fact

who once had to battle in the courts to avoid deportation as a communist finds himself at this last convention heckled by a small 'Militant Caucus' of his union that accuses him of having gone over to management and proclaims 'The struggle against class collaboration poses the need for a new leadership that is pledged to the independent struggle of the working class and a complete break with the capitalists, their government and their political parties.'"

As the ILWU confronts a deepening jobs crisis with a sellout leadership that lacks even the eroded authority that Bridges had, the union ranks face critical choices. The ILWU may be further ground down by employer attack and leadership betrayal. It may be broken up and absorbed into other unions which will prove no better. Or, it can adopt the program advocated by the Militant Caucus. The latter is the only way the union's membership can both fight to defend their livelihoods and, by virtue of the ILWU's strategic importance, lead all of West Coast labour on the road of class struggle. ■

(adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 156, 6 May 1977)



The British Socialist Worker (26 March) commented on photo (right), "Call it incitement to disaffection if you like. But we want these people on our side".

"ending up on the same side of the fence as the most reactionary defenders of the status quo" and correctly pointed out that the cops "can be counted on to act as the most inveterate and ruthless opponents of any militant mass struggle" (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 February 1971). We shall see what they say about Tariq Ali!

Actually, the American SWP's real position on the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state has been to call upon these "ruthless opponents" to intervene to *protect* "militant struggles", calling on federal troops to defend busing in Boston. The Spartacist League (SL/US), in contrast, has maintained a consistent Marxist line. It pointed out in 1971, "In no sense are these bodies of armed men 'neutral' in the class struggle". And three years later the SL/US demanded, "not the bosses' army, but labor/black defense" as the way to enforce school integration and protect black people from the racist mobilisation in Boston.

Of course, many workers mistakenly believe that the bourgeoisie's professional thugs and blacklegs [scabs] are on their side, or at least neutral. To the British SWP, notorious for tailing after backward consciousness among the workers, this is sufficient. The American SWP caters to liberal illusions widespread in the black community that federal (as opposed to state or local) government officials are their allies; and the IMG is such a political hodgepodge that it will capitulate to just about anything.

Neither the American and British SWPs nor the IMG, whose politics are determined by opportunist appetites, rather than Marxism, are able to distinguish the fundamental class line separating the police from the working class. We stand with Trotsky, who exposed the illusions of German Social Democrats that the Prussian police, originally recruited from among social-democratic workers, would stop Hitler: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" ("What Next?", January 1932).

As the IMG tails the British SWP which tails the "lads in blue", we are proud to uphold the long working-class tradition of total opposition to police in the workers movement. ■

(reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 154, 22 April 1977)

US waterside . . .

Continued from page three

Even more revealing of the Stalinists' cowardly policy was their complete silence on the State Department's exclusion of a delegation of three Soviet trade-union officials invited to the convention. Reportedly acting at the behest of the raving anti-communist George Meany (head of the AFL-CIO, US equivalent of the ACTU), the US government refused to grant visas to the Soviet officials, leaving them stranded across the border in nearby Vancouver. When Mandel rose to put a motion before the convention calling for action in defence of the Soviet delegation (see box) instead of token telegrams beseeching Meany to change his ways, the CPers covered in their seats. It was the Militant Caucus, not the craven Stalinists, which while denouncing bureaucratic repression in the USSR forthrightly called for the defence of the Soviet workers' expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

The press coverage given to the Militant Caucus reflects the increasing recognition both inside and outside the union that these militants represent the real class-struggle opposition to the ILWU bureaucrats. The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* (20 April) wrote:

"Its ironic that this labor leader [Bridges],

Who gave Mulgrew his security clearance?

How SLL "refutes" red-baiting

The third national conference, held over Easter weekend, of the Young Socialists (YS), youth group of the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) was scarcely more noteworthy than other SLL/YS gatherings, despite the SLL's grandiose acclamation of "decisions that will make history" in its report on the conference (*Workers News*, 14 April). It was typified by the usual Healyite rubbish: crisis-mongering, megalomaniacal sectarianism, absence of serious political debate and exhortations to carry forward the struggle for "Security and the Fourth International" -- a two-year long campaign devoted primarily to slandering American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU" in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. In all likelihood, the young people in attendance were thinking more about the coming night's disco -- a stock-in-trade attraction at YS meetings -- than the boring speeches of YS leader Val Murphy and Jim Mulgrew, tinpot tyrant of the SLL. While Murphy hoodwinked the assembled handful of youth with swaggering nonsense like, "The only force to [organise a fight against the Industrial Relations Bureau] has been the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League", Mulgrew focused yet another time on "the decisive questions of Security and the Fourth International".

How "decisive" the question of security was for the SLL was to become startlingly clear by its "airtight" defence against charges of violence at the conference, which achieved national notoriety two weeks later when the Packer-owned Channel 9 television network program, "A Current Affair", devoted a substantial amount of time to a lurid, red-baiting "expose" of the SLL/YS. Alleging that some of the young participants at the conference, whom it interviewed, had been manhandled by SLL cadre, the 19 April program launched a vicious anti-communist attack on the SLL/YS. Through crudely distorted quotes from *Workers News* and baseless slanders, "A Current Affair" attempted to conjure up an image of an organisation bent on "brainwashing" and manipulating "children" into becoming hardened gun-toting terrorists. The Packer empire has a long and thoroughly reactionary record of red-baiting and attempted frame-up provocations against left-wing activists and the workers movement in general. Whatever the validity of the allegations made by the interviewed youth, workers must not be fooled by this gross display of anti-communism masquerading as a "touching" concern for the welfare of these youth.

Labour movement must condemn anti-SLL witchhunt

The SLL is certainly not "terrorist". In fact its wildly oscillating opportunism poses no danger to capitalism, its eccentric sectarian claims notwithstanding. Packer's "expose" is nothing but a vicious smear against the entire left. Though the ostensibly revolutionary left in Australia is far too weak at this point to be overly worrisome to the bourgeoisie, its paid propagandists will avail themselves of any opportunity to discredit revolutionary politics as bizarre, crazy and "violent" -- particularly in the context of the current generalised wage-slashing, union-bashing offensive against the working class. Thus Packer's attack on the SLL/YS occurs at the same time as a similarly reactionary witchhunt is being directed against the Maoists as "violent extremists" (who are "extreme" only in their staunch support to Australian patriotism). In a despicably sectarian display of its own contempt for the general interests of the workers movement, the pro-Moscow Young Socialist League (YSL -- youth affiliate of the Socialist Party of Australia) actually had its president, Bruce Hearn, appear on "A Current Affair" the following night to echo this media baron's anti-communist slanders. Coming from one whose organisation defends an unparalleled record of violence within the workers movement, including the assassination of Trotsky and many other leaders of the Russian Revolution, Hearn's disingenuous dissociation from violence is the height of hypocrisy.

The Healyites and Maoists -- with their self-isolating and established reputations for thuggery within the left -- provide easy targets for such smear campaigns. (The SLL's latest atrocity against the principle of workers democracy occurred at the Melbourne May Day rally, when Mulgrew harassed and threatened an ex-SLL member, Paul White, and then reiterated the threat to a nearby Spartacist supporter, "Tell 'your friend' he's a dead man".) But the dangerous implication of red-baiting such as Packer's for the entire workers movement was revealed when one of the reporters for "A Current Affair", Leonard Lee, announced his attempt to have the Victorian education minister investigate and take action

against SLL supporters in the Victorian Teachers Union (VTU). This transparent witchhunt is ultimately directed against *all* teachers with left-wing sympathies. The VTU must respond to any threat of action against the SLL supporters with a full mobilisation of its resources, including strike action if necessary. The Packer propaganda machine's red-baiting attack on the SLL/YS, and the YSL's disgusting assistance to it, must be repudiated and condemned by the entire left and labour movement.

Healyism vs Trotskyism on repression and violence

Red-baiting and bourgeois state surveillance and repression are facts of life for working-class militants. When the Spartacist League/US discovered recently that it was one of sixteen organisations (which did not include, among others, the Healyite Workers League) targeted by the FBI in 1971 for "special" attention, our comrades pointed to "the FBI itself which is the outlaw and terrorist organization" and exposed the bourgeoisie's purpose in attempting to set them up as "violent criminals": "the legitimization of terror tactics of its consummately violent state: executions, frame-ups, concentration camps" (*Workers Vanguard* no 151, 1 April). Refuting the hypocritical ruling-class slur that Marxists are "violent", our comrades quoted the courtroom testimony of founding American Trotskyist James Cannon, when he was tried during World War II for "advocating" violent revolution under the reactionary Smith Act:

"[The Marxist attitude to violence] is a prediction that the outlived class, which is put in a minority by the revolutionary growth in the country, will try by violent means to hold on to its privileges against the will of the majority....
"Of course, we don't limit ourselves simply to that prediction. We go further, and advise the workers to bear in mind and prepare themselves not to permit the reactionary outlived minority to frustrate the will of the majority." (*Socialism on Trial*)

In a stacked "debate" in a bourgeois courtroom, faced with years of imprisonment, this revolutionary upheld the basic principles of Marxism. But the Healyites are political bandits, not revolutionary Trotskyists. While correctly denouncing Packer's anti-working class witchhunt, they responded to his spurious violence-mongering with the plea that "everyone knows we are completely opposed to the methods of terrorism" (*Workers News*, 21 April). Marxists of course oppose terrorism as a political strategy, but what the Healyites mean by this was made clear two years ago when the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) was confronted by a similar witchhunt. Healy promised the bourgeoisie that "if anyone in the WRP was found to have a firearm, they would be expelled at once" ([US] *Bulletin*, 7 October 1975). Marxists are not gun freaks, but we do not go around calling upon worker militants to disarm themselves at the beck and call of the bourgeoisie.

The fraud of "Security and the Fourth International"

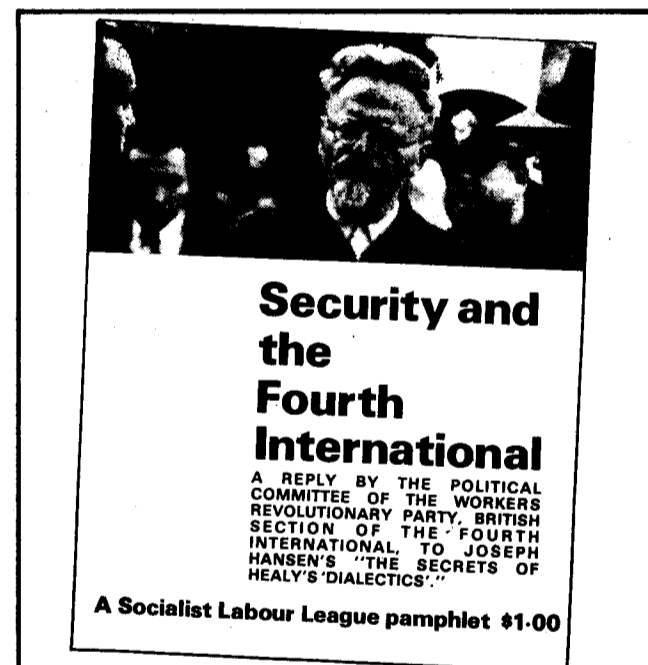
But the SLL's ultimate "proof" that there could not have been any violence at the Easter conference was truly extraordinary. For years they have maliciously slandered us as "finger-men of the world bourgeoisie", "provocateurs" and CIA agents to create a pretext for excluding our supporters from their *public* meetings in order to prevent our exposure of their rotten politics. They even accuse the Australian SWP essentially of being CIA-backed provocateurs simply for referring to the SLL's record of thuggery in the context of defending the SLL against Packer's red-bait. Yet the YS *internal* national conference to "train" the future "revolutionary leaders" of the working class, deliberating on "decisions that will make history", was held, by the SLL's own admission (*Workers News*, 21 April), "AT A POLICE BOYS CLUB TO WHICH THE POLICE HAD ACCESS AT ALL TIMES"! This, then, is what Healy's "International Committee of the Fourth International" (IC) means by its "dedicated attention to questions of security", by wanting "to elevate [the security question] in the training and building of our movement" (*Security and the Fourth International*). The SLL's movement is being trained and built under the "secure" and watchful attention of the hired thugs of the Australian bourgeoisie!

What a gross and hypocritical sham this reveals the IC's campaign for security to be. For two years, every issue of every IC section periodical has devoted itself to dredging up long-known facts, often minutiae, and twisting them through the upside-down logic of Healyite

"dialectics" and shameless, sensationalist innuendo in order to implicate not just Hansen and Novack, but in essence the entire leadership of the then revolutionary SWP in "covering up" for the murderers of Trotsky. The betrayal of which Hansen and Novack and the current leadership of the US SWP are guilty is their defence of the reformist anti-revolutionary politics of the SWP today, politics only more openly and consistently treacherous than those of the Healyites, not trumped-up charges of collaborating with the assassins of Trotsky.

The IC has frequently boasted of the expense and effort it has invested in "the investigation into security in the Fourth International ... [as] an essential part of the preparation of the struggle for workers' power" (*The Assassination of Trotsky*). The money which the IC has spent to send investigators to Mexico City to pore through the files of the Mexican secret police from 1940 might be put to better use if a delegation were sent to investigate Mulgrew's blase attitude to the question of police access to his youth conferences. From the beginning of this ignominious slander campaign the international Spartacist tendency has pointed to its real purpose as a last-ditch effort to shore up a visibly disintegrating international gang of political bandits from the organisational and political death it so richly deserves. This latest incident leaves nothing to add.

Unlike the SLL, we do understand the necessity for revolutionary principles. The class enemy's anti-communist witchhunt against the SLL must be opposed. But we will continue to relentlessly expose the bankrupt politics and gangsterist methods of these notorious bandits within the workers movement until they do in fact go under. Through their apolitical recruitment methods and the atmosphere of mistrust they engender in the left with their thuggery and cop-baiting, it is they who enhance the ability of real police spies and provocateurs to operate in the workers movement. But their principal crime is the destruction of hundreds of potentially valuable revolutionary cadre and the obstruction their politics has posed to the reforging of a truly Trotskyist International. ■



Healyite "security": YS held an internal conference to which cops had access at all times at a Police Citizens Boys' Club on the Sydney North Shore (below).



"Gang of four": "Trotskyists" in disguise?

Pro-Peking spokesman repudiates Cultural Revolution

The Chiang Ching group was generally regarded, with good reason, as the most fervent and loyal supporters of Mao Tse-tung within the Chinese leadership. Thus the violent purge of the "gang of four" as "bourgeois counterrevolutionaries" immediately after the Great Helmsman's death was received by the world Maoist movement with shock, dismay, dissent and outright opposition. In West Europe "critical Maoist" groups such as the West German Kommunistischer Bund, the Swedish Forbundet Kommunist and the French Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs have declared that the purge of Chiang Ching signalled the victory of "capitalist roadism". In the US the philistine-workerist Revolutionary Communist Party has been moving toward an open break with Peking and is probably waiting only for the official restoration of Teng Hsiao-ping to make it formal.



Hua Kuo-feng.

While the attitudes of "fraternal Marxist-Leninist" parties have absolutely no influence in Peking politics, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy finds it useful (if sometimes embarrassing) to have loyal, active supporters in the capitalist world. Therefore Peking is expending a certain propaganda effort to convince doubters and critics among its erstwhile supporters that the Chiang Ching group got what it deserved.

Repudiating the Cultural Revolution

The most significant defense of the Hua regime published in the US is a pamphlet, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Gang of Four'", put out by Books New China. This pamphlet is a translation of an article by one Hsin Chi in the December 1976 issue of *The Seventies*, a Chinese-language Hong Kong magazine which serves as an unofficial organ for the Peking regime.

Since the Chiang Ching group came to power through the Cultural Revolution and since many of their now victorious enemies were the victims of that period, Hsin is impelled to in effect repudiate the Cultural Revolution -- or, at least, its "revolutionary" aspects. Hsin informs us

that "Mao Tse-tung viewed the results of the Cultural Revolution as seventy percent success and thirty percent failure...." Were Mao's severe criticisms of the Cultural Revolution made known to the Chinese people before now? No, because (you guessed it):

"China's newspapers have never mentioned the faults of the Cultural Revolution. I think that this is because the 'gang of four' controlled the mass media, and that the major mistakes of the Cultural Revolution were linked in some ways to their damaging interference."

And the 30 percent of the Cultural Revolution that Mao didn't like? "Armed conflicts and the attacks on and mistreatment of a large number of cadres, which violated the Party's longstanding policy." Not only does Hsin condemn violence against the veteran party cadres, but he opposes the removal of most of them from authority:

"The Sixteen-Point Decision concerning the Cultural Revolution also stated that it is necessary to achieve the unity of more than 95 percent of the cadres. The majority of the cadres who carried out Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line did it unconsciously. They were merely following orders from their superiors."

Hsin would have limited the Cultural Revolution to the ouster of Liu followed by "sincere self-criticism" by the party and state apparachiks.

Hsin's revisionist views should greatly upset the many Western Maoists who were won to the cause precisely because of the Cultural Revolution. It was not the palace coup against Liu in July-August 1966 but the subsequent mobilization of student youth (the Red Guards) against the party/government establishment that was seen by Western radicals as the very essence of the Cultural Revolution, as proof that it was an "anti-bureaucratic, revolutionary" campaign. It was the appearance of the overthrow of the governing apparatus from below that distinguished the Cultural Revolution from a typical Stalinist bureaucratic purge or previous Maoist "rectification" campaigns. It was the sight of Red Guards dragging the foreign minister through Peking in a dunce cap which caused New Left radicals in the West to view the Chinese Maoists as their political kith and kin.

In arguing that the Chiang Ching group violated Mao's policy by attacking more than five percent of the cadre, Hsin cites the 8 August 1966 Decision of the CPC Central Committee which officially launched the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". As everyone in China knows, this document was not the last word in Cultural Revolution policy. An authoritative editorial in the 22 January 1967 issue of *People's Daily* puts forth a rather different line:

"Right from the beginning, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been a struggle for the seizure of power. This great cultural revolution means precisely the arousing of millions of people to liberate themselves and to seize power from the handful of people within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road...."

"Power of every sort controlled by the representatives of the bourgeoisie must be seized!" (*Peking Review*, 27 January 1967)

In reality, power was not seized by the revolutionary masses nor even by Chiang Ching's Red Guards. It was seized by Lin Piao's People's Liberation Army officer corps, who in 1968 dispersed the credulous Red Guards by force and violence. The Cultural Revolution shifted power, for a time, from one grouping within the Chinese bureaucracy to another.

Even more important for Hsin than revising the Cultural Revolution is proving that Mao opposed the "gang of four", although everyone in the world (including all Maoists) believed otherwise. Hsin claims that the "gang" tricked Mao and only fully revealed their counterrevolutionary nature after he died. However, so as not to make the Great Helmsman seem too gullible, Hsin asserts:

"Since the beginning of the year [1976], as Mao's health was deteriorating, he had decided to deal with them. But his advanced age made it impossible for him to do it directly; he

had to rely on Hua Kuo-feng and others to deal with the problem."

This supposedly authoritative pamphlet provides not a single documented quote that Mao opposed the Chiang Ching clique or even seriously criticized it. Rather Hsin cites the ever-convenient wall posters for Mao's anti-"gang" remarks. And these statements have the character of palace gossip, such as one might pick up from a chauffeur or maid in the Forbidden City.

However, even if a veritable document by Mao seriously criticizing Chiang Ching were available, this would be irrelevant. Mao played a *bonapartist* role within the Chinese bureaucracy, maneuvering between its various cliques and power blocs. He simultaneously encouraged and supported the Chiang Ching clique and criticized and opposed it as the occasion warranted. But there is one thing which no pro-Peking propagandist can deny. Mao was far more hostile to Teng Hsiao-ping, whose return to power is imminent, than he ever was to Chiang Ching.

Rehabilitating Teng

The New Left, "critical Maoist" *Guardian*, true to its political spinelessness, has come out both for supporting Hua's purge of the "gang" and for offering an olive branch to those who are still soft on Chiang Ching. It views the purge as a "legitimate struggle against left dogmatism" but denies that the Chiang Ching group were "capitalist-roaders", much less "bourgeois counterrevolutionaries".



1967: Red Guards demonstrate during Cultural Revolution.

To show its fair-mindedness toward the present rulers of the Heavenly Palace, the *Guardian* has opened its pages to a series of articles by Pat and Roger Howard, two Canadians now working at the Guangdong Institute of Foreign Languages in Canton, who unsurprisingly present the views of the new Hua regime. The Howards' articles are more effective than official Peking propaganda because they avoid the scholastic nonsense of Mao Thought.

Rather they focus on the real crimes of the Chiang Ching clique, particularly inhuman brutality toward heroic veteran party cadre like the guerrilla chief Ho Lung. Thus the Howards evoke sympathy for the victims of the "gang". Having demonstrated that the Chiang Ching clique committed violence against innocent persons and disrupted the economy, the Howards evidently believe they have proved their case. As orthodox Mao-Stalinists they cannot comprehend the difference between bureaucratic criminals in a deformed workers state and bourgeois counterrevolutionaries.

However, the Howards' purpose is not so much to attack the Chiang Ching group as to justify

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the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping. In this purpose, they show real understanding of their audience. The return to power of Teng, far more so than even the purge of Chiang Ching, will be viewed by Western radicals as the overthrow of Maoism in China. Many Maoists who could accept the Cultural Revolution activist Hua Kuo-feng cannot stomach Teng Hsiao-ping -- twice purged as a "capitalist-roader" -- as the most powerful political figure in People's China.

The Howards begin by arguing that Teng was a right deviationist but not a "capitalist-roader":

"... we began to collect and translate quoted statements of his that appeared in the press. We planned to use this material to write an article explaining the movement to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping. However, after several weeks, we gave up the project. Why? Because we found the evidence -- hundreds of quotes taken out of context -- too flimsy and unconvincing." (*Guardian*, 9 March)

The Howards, needless to say, cite wall posters indicating that Mao shared their views on Teng:

"Since the arrests of the four it has been revealed in the wall posters that Chairman Mao had stated clearly that in his estimation the contradiction with Teng Hsiao-ping was one among the people."

And here is the kicker:

"Will it be an indication that Teng's deviationist line has become predominant in the central committee if he is rehabilitated? Certainly not, if -- and only if -- he makes sincere and thorough going self-criticism of his mistakes.... If Teng Hsiao-ping is able to analyze for us the nature and source of his errors, he will be able to make a considerable contribution to the revolutionary process in China."

It is typical of Stalinist sychophants like the Howards that they are always prepared to vilify those they praised yesterday and praise those they vilified yesterday. For that reason, as revolutionary human material the Howards and those like them are worthless.

The spectre of Trotskyism

Among the endless attacks on the "gang of four" coming out of China is a front-page article in the Peking daily *Jenmin Ji Pao* (28 January) by one Chung Lien likening the Chiang Ching group to the Trotskyists. The Peking-loyal October League, ever desirous to smear its rivals, like the Revolutionary Communist Party, with accusations of apostasy, reprinted excerpts in the 21-February issue of the *Call*.

The *Jenmin Ji Pao* article is expectedly on the intellectual level of the 1930s Moscow show trials. It contains nothing but gross, obvious falsifications and imbecilic self-contradictions. No serious Maoist group in the West would dare write such a stupid and brazenly dishonest anti-Trotskyist polemic. If they did, it could only discredit them among any questioning members and contacts who had access to Trotsky's writings. This atrocious article could only be written in a country where Trotskyist literature is inaccessible.

The article tries to equate the "gang's" economic policies with those of the Left Opposition during the late 1920s, which it totally distorts:

"The Soviet Union, then in a period of economic rehabilitation, achieved marked successes in developing industry and agriculture and improving the livelihood of the workers and peasants even though there were still some problems. The Trotskyites, however, issued an anti-party declaration in which they prophesied an inevitable, grave economic crisis and the fall of Soviet power. They did not make a single definite proposal for the improvement of industry and agriculture or for the betterment of the conditions of the working people."

The article tries to associate Trotskyism with the Chiang Ching clique's advocacy of austerity and supposed disinterest in improving the economy.

However, the 1927 "Platform of the Joint Opposition" is replete with definite proposals to improve agriculture and industry and raise the living standards of the workers and peasants. For example, it called for the removal of all taxes from the poorest 40-50 percent of peasant families, no tax increase for middle peasants, and higher taxes on and forced loans from the wealthiest farmers (kulaks). In industry, the "Platform" called for a higher rate of investment, the extension of workers control and increased wages in line with higher productivity. These economic policies were set in the framework of the fundamental demand for the restoration of soviet democracy.

The economic crisis which the Trotskyist opposition predicted did, in fact, occur. Between 1927 and 1929 the state procurement of agricultural produce fell from 10.6 to 9.5 million tons. In response Stalin's forced collectivization of agriculture led to the murder and starvation of

millions of peasants. The forced-draft industrialization led to a severe fall in the workers' living standard, which did not return to the 1929 level until the early 1950s!

Chung's attempts to liken Trotskyism to the Chiang Ching clique are so self-contradictory that a five-year-old child could see through them. It is well-known, admitted even by Stalinists, that Trotsky denied the possibility of socialism (the first stage of communist society) in one country; the Chiang Ching clique, however, allegedly "wanted to realize communism overnight". And this is why the Chiang Ching group are like the Trotskyists!

Why do Peking propagandists bother to drag Trotskyism into their attacks on the "gang of four" at all? The threat of Trotskyism would appear to be very remote from the present concerns of the Chinese bureaucracy. In Russia, Stalin defeated and suppressed the Left Opposition 50 years ago. Trotsky himself was assassinated on Stalin's orders in 1940. No group espousing Trotskyism exists in China. What the Chinese

people know about Trotskyism comes entirely from the regime's own lying and slanderous propaganda.

The core of the Trotskyist program is proletarian political revolution against the privileged, oppressive and nationalist bureaucracies ruling in the Soviet bloc and China. The Stalinist regimes, however much they lie and distort, comprehend that Trotskyism stands for internal communist revolution against them. The Chinese bureaucracy under Mao and Chou, and under Hua and Teng, knows full well it is removed from the Chinese masses whom it governs, in the last analysis, through military terror. The bureaucrats sense the profound discontent within the toiling masses who strive for a social order which is just, egalitarian and democratic and opens the path toward world socialism. The rulers in the Heavenly Palace fear revolution from below, and know that their bureaucratic opponents do also; that is why they raise the spectre of Trotskyism. ■

(reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 151, 1 April 1977)

Before

HSINHUA WEEKLY
20 September 1976



After

RENMIN HUA BAO
November 1976



Pictures do lie

Maoists turned into shrubbery

Joseph Stalin died in 1953 but the "Stalin School of Falsification" lives on, and not just in the Kremlin. The Maoist bureaucrats in Peking recently made blatant use of one of the well-worn Stalinist specialties for rewriting history: doctored photographs.

The November 1976 issue (distributed in February 1977) of *Renmin Hua Bao* (the Chinese edition of "China Pictorial") was devoted to pictures depicting the life and death of Mao Tse-tung. Naturally, nowhere do the likenesses of such "unpersons" as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao appear. But in some of the photos there are obvious gaping holes where party leaders used to be. We have selected two of the clearest examples of this disgusting distortion of history and supplied the original photos for comparison.

In the first, showing Mao and his entourage in Shensi province in 1947, his wife Chiang Ching (now in disgrace) has become invisible, as if vaporized in a sci-fi movie. In the second, taken at a mass memorial meeting for Mao in September 1976, the solid line of assembled Maoist dignitaries has become a broken line, with the "Gang of Four" miraculously transformed into shrubbery. But the new gang in power doesn't even shrink from admitting their falsification:

in the accompanying Chinese caption the purge victims are shamelessly denoted by "X's".

This sinister practice was by no means invented by Mao's heirs. From Stalin's practice of ordering offending pages of the "Great Soviet Encyclopedia" cut out and returned to the publisher every time the "general line" changed or another old party leader was executed, to the Maoist reprinting of pages from the "Little Red Book" to remove references to Liu Shao-chi, the methods of the Stalinist bureaucrats are the same.

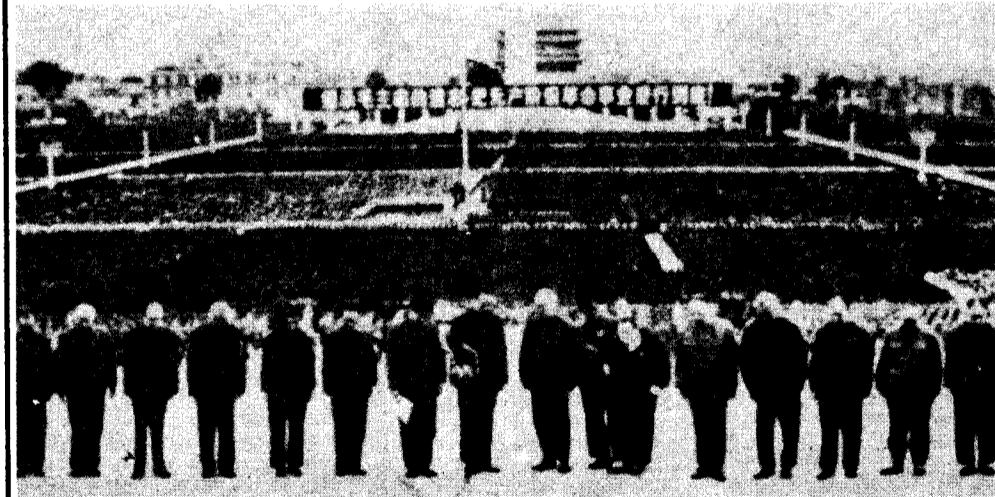
In its Orwellian manipulation of reality, as in its bureaucratic travesty of proletarian democracy, Stalinism renders invaluable service to the bourgeois red baiters' hypocritical outcry against "Communist totalitarianism". The Stalinists' cult of the personality requires systematic forgery and fraud, "newspeak" and "doublethink". Even the most loyal adherents of "socialism in one country" may overnight be transformed into shrubbery and "X's" -- in photograph and in fact.

The authentic communist vanguard, however, is bound by Trotsky's admonition to "say what is". As Lenin put it, "the truth is revolutionary".

(reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 153, 15 April 1977)

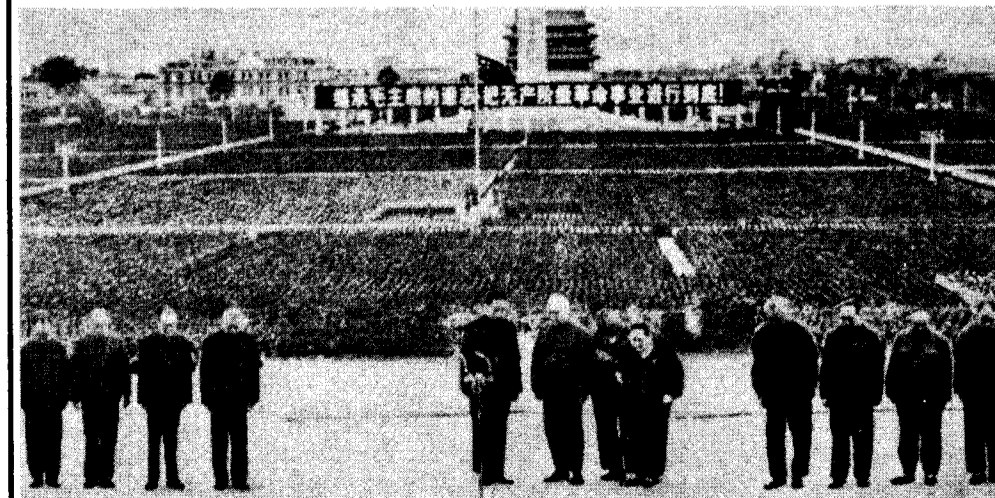
Before

HSINHUA WEEKLY
20 September 1976



After

RENMIN HUA BAO
November 1976



党和国家领导人华国锋、×××、叶剑英、×××、宋庆龄、×××、×××、李先念、陈锡联、纪登奎、汪东兴、吴德、许世友、韦国清、李德生、熊承先、吴桂贤、苏振华、倪志福、董理等在追悼大会上。

At NOW convention

"Consistent feminists" red-bait US SWP

DETROIT -- The Socialist Workers Party's [US co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party in Australia] reformist daydream of becoming the "best builders" of the bourgeois-liberal National Organization for Women (NOW) blew up in their faces at NOW's tenth national convention here over April 22-24. For months prior to the meeting the SWP's *Militant* was full of lengthy analyses, reports and motions for the convention, all of which boiled down to more "mass actions" and bringing more minority women into the largely white, middle-class organization. Many SWP rank and filers at the conference, completely disarmed by their leadership's timid reformism and idiotic appeals to sisterhood with the tough bourgeois politicians running the conference, were shattered and reduced to tears by the vicious redbaiting they got at the conference.

Although SWP interventions in NOW have been limited to the most minimal demands, the NOW leadership, busy professionalizing their image as a respectable bourgeois lobby, was not about to tolerate any hint of "communist influence". A national conference supplement, *NOW Times*, ran a special full-page article entitled "SWP: A Study in Political Parasitism", which accused the SWP of being a vanguard party dominated by white males, asserted that many feminist groups had been dis-

rupted and destroyed by the SWP and even compared the latter's activities in NOW to FBI and CIA infiltration of the SWP!

SWP speakers were booed at the microphones, and in the final minutes of the conference, as most SWP supporters were out of the room at a Minority Women Workshop, a full-scale attack was launched. A black NOW member announced to the delegates, "I heard that an organization has called a meeting of the Minority Women's Caucus to declare that NOW is a racist organization. That group doesn't speak for me as a minority woman". She left the mike to thunderous applause and cheering, returning moments later to announce dramatically: "I have been asked to name the organization. That organization is the Socialist Workers Party". More applause. She went on, "... the SWP is using the issue of minority rights as a tool ..." and the crowd burst out into chanting "NOW Lives! NOW Lives!"

Willie Mae Reid of the SWP tried to speak, after joining in the "NOW Lives!" chorus, and managed to get out only a few words about the need to "unite" and denouncing "tactics that divide women". The cheers became boos and hisses, and SWP defenders found their microphones cut off.

A motion was made and passed overwhelmingly

amidst cheers condemning the SWP: "... that this conference protest attempts by the SWP to use NOW as a vehicle to place before the public the agenda of their organization and to exploit the feminist movement. We bitterly resent and will not tolerate any group's attempts to deflect us from pursuit of our feminist goals".

The shaken SWPers regrouped after the conference adjournment to assess what had gone wrong. Mary-Alice Waters angrily condemned the red-baiting and was furious at the implication that the SWP didn't belong in NOW -- "as if we had ideas that were in contradiction to NOW". Waters said she didn't care if a woman was a member of the Democratic Party: "... it is irrelevant.... What counts is what her ideas are and if they can move the struggle forward". Willie Mae Reid added that "I am outraged that we were used to destroy one of the best conferences NOW has ever had".

The SWP has learned absolutely nothing from this fiasco. Of course they are more used to dishing out the kind of bureaucratic witchhunting they received, as in 1971, when Spartacist League (SL) members were expelled from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) for protesting the presence of Democratic Party politician Bella Abzug. Despite the SWP's efforts to become respected members of NOW and thus earn the right to occasionally lend their own social-democratic politics to NOW's activities, the bourgeois feminists are not about to have it. While the SL condemns the redbaiting, we are not surprised when it comes from the likes of NOW. Unlike the SWP, Trotskyists know full well that feminism is a bourgeois ideology, necessarily hostile to communism. We say openly: the only road to women's liberation is the road of class struggle. For women's liberation through proletarian revolution! ■

(reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 156, 6 May 1977)

CL...

Continued from page two

being separate" from the class struggle, she assures us. She just wants class-conscious male workers to stay out of WLM -- and this is "in no way a statement on the politics of the WLM"! Egg bases her "apolitical" rationale for male exclusionism on the feminist homily that women coming into political activity feel "intimidated by the presence of men". The profoundly male-chauvinist assumption underlying this is that women cannot work with men on an equal basis.

The psychological and social effects of the pervasive debasement women suffer in bourgeois society are quite real, but they will not be overcome by "sheltering" women from the harsh but real world (nor by catering to feminist newspeak, a la "straw (wo)men" and "errand persons(?)" -- we abhor sexist or racist pejoratives but we do not devote our energies to New Left "cultural revolutionising"). The Leninist Communist International also "recognised very early on" the necessity for special methods of work among politically backward, oppressed women. But, in its theses on "Work Among Women" authored by Clara Zetkin, the Third Congress (1921) counterposed "to the separate organisation of women into all sorts of parties, unions, or any other special women's organisations" advocated by the feminists, the creation of a communist women's movement. Among its projected tasks was "to increase the will-power of the women by drawing them into all kinds and forms of political struggle, to awaken their activity and participation in the struggle against capitalist exploitation" (all emphases added). Class-conscious women workers can and must struggle for and assume their rightful role as proletarian leaders -- as recognised

militant fighters against capitalism not as token representatives of "women's needs".

Cde Egg conspicuously avoids programmatic questions, but organisational forms have programmatic implications. In proposing caucuses to fight sexism apart from the overall struggle against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, the CL advocates exactly what it claims to oppose: separation of women's struggles from the class struggle. If the interests of men and women workers are sufficiently divergent for Cde Egg to preclude their unity in a common caucus, why not call for separate women's unions? Even if based on a revolutionary, anti-capitalist program -- and the eclectic hodge-podge of minimal reform demands comprising the CL-sponsored Working Women's Charter is certainly not that -- the male-exclusionist character of a women's caucus would stand in contradiction to its stated class-struggle aims by dividing, and thereby weakening, the militant opposition to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. We daresay the "semantic" subtlety of Cde Egg's contradictory position would be lost not only on us but on the workers she hopes to win to "taking up the problems of women".

The feminist logic intrinsic to male exclusionism is carried to its extreme by the CL's French co-thinker, the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR), star section of the Mandeliste majority wing in the USec. The LCR not only advocates male-exclusionist caucuses within the unions, but within its own organisation! At the LCR's recent national conference the so-called *groupes Sands*, originally set up in 1974 as "informal" groupings, not only demanded the "right" to organise male-exclusionist parallel structures within the organisation, they threatened to boycott the conference entirely if they were not granted delegates to represent the particular interests of LCR women members (see *Workers Vanguard* no 146, 25 February). This is nothing but the Menshevik/Bundist conception of a federated party composed of various special interest groups -- directly counterposed to Lenin's concept of a programmatically unified and disciplined proletarian vanguard. If the sexism in the LCR is so pervasive as to compel women comrades to organise autonomously within it, that in itself is compelling evidence as to its non-revolutionary character. In a Leninist party, any pervasive manifestation of sexism, or any other sort of backward, bourgeois ideology (eg nationalism, feminism) would necessitate a sharp, programmatic struggle by all conscious members, likely culminating in a purge or split.

The feminist fracture in the LCR is a reflection of the USec's rejection of the Trotskyist program and party in order to pursue and liquidate into a politically heterogeneous "broad vanguard", amongst which "revolutionary" feminists have an honoured position. Rather than attempting to mobilise the various strata of the oppressed under the hegemonic leadership of the



Editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*, Bolshevik journal devoted to construction of communist women's movement, which CL rejects in favour of feminist "autonomy".

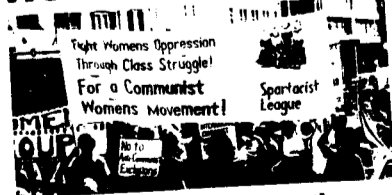
proletarian vanguard, the Pabloists opt for the polyvanguardist notion of the "self-organisation" of the oppressed. In classic revisionist style the USec "incorporates" bourgeois feminist ideology into the body of proletarian theory. While the CL has taken of late to insisting that, like the SL, its members do not "call themselves" feminists, the reformist Socialist Workers Party openly espouses feminism and argues that socialists are the most consistent feminists. That these "non"-feminists and "consistent feminists" can co-habit the same international reflects (in addition to a simple opportunist craving to maintain their unprincipled, rotten-bloc "international") at bottom this common revisionist methodology.

Thus, only a year ago, the CL avowed that "Feminism led the way in developing a theoretical exposition of women's oppression" (*Militant Broadsheet* no 1, 1 March 1976 -- emphasis added). And Egg challenges us to deny that "feminist writers have played a major role in developing our understanding of women's oppression". Which feminist writers? Juliet Mitchell, who argues that "the position of women as women [in the home] takes precedence" over their class position (*Women's Estate*)? Or Mariarosa Dalla Costa, who denies that housewives need to be freed from the stifling atmosphere of the home

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BULLETIN (no 8, part 2)

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BULLETIN No 8, part 2

THE CRISIS IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT:



Autonomy is not an option

Articles on women's liberation from SPARTACIST (US) and AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST.

Documents on the attempted exclusion of the Spartacist League from Sydney Women's Liberation, March - April 1977.

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and brought into productive labour -- since she claims they already produce surplus value -- and the mainstream of the class struggle (*Women and the Subversion of the Community*)? Or Susan Brownmiller, who sees rape and the male "ultimate weapon", the penis, as the main social agency by which women are oppressed (*Against Our Will*)? Egg may not have said that feminism is a step toward socialism (nor did our report present this as a quote). But if the CL believes that revolutionary consciousness results when "feminists begin to question the nature of this society" -- as most "radical" feminists and certainly "Marxist" feminists (like Mitchell) have -- *without repudiating feminism*, what is this but a belief that feminism is a stepping stone to socialism?!

Only within the framework of Marxism can the understanding of and struggle against women's oppression be advanced. Only by *breaking* with feminism and recognising the primacy of the class struggle -- and the necessity to ally with class-conscious male workers -- in practice as well as in principle can "a woman's consciousness about her own oppression" lead to revolutionary consciousness. In maintaining and deepening the existing divisions in the proletariat, in subjugating women workers to bourgeois ideology, in promoting class-collaborationist "sisterhood", feminism is counterrevolutionary. Yet, in her zeal to defend feminist "understanding" against the "purists" of the SL, Egg makes not a single reference to the wealth of communist theory and practice around the woman question. It was not a "feminist writer", after all, but Friedrich Engels who played the major role in analysing the nuclear family as the main social agency through which women are oppressed in class society. Nor has there been any feminist movement which has achieved a fraction of the gains for women brought about by the revolutionary Bolshevik government in its short six-year span. Having rejected the Marxist program, it is little wonder that the CL is willing to apologise for "the immaturity of Marxist analysis in relationship to women's oppression" (*Militant*, 11 November 1976).

The revolutionary party will not be built by capitulations to popular false consciousness. Only through sharp, uncompromising struggle for the Trotskyist program -- which includes the exposure of opportunist organisations like the CL and the regroupment of those elements winnable to revolutionary politics -- can a steeled cadre and party committed to that program be developed. That is what the entire existence of the Spartacist League is based on. The CL can derive little comfort from its puerile attempt to dismiss our programmatic consistency and Leninist orthodoxy with the fantasy that we refuse to participate "in any kind of real involvement" in struggle. The first serious attempt in recent years to return International Women's Day to its proletarian heritage was initiated by the SL, not the CL. The most intensive debate on political perspectives within the Australian women's movement crystallised around and in response to the communist politics of the SL, not the CL's half-hearted "class perspective".

It is not enough to no longer "call yourselves" feminists. It is not enough to struggle for "class consciousness" within the framework of feminist male exclusionism. It is not enough to profess revolutionary intentions while advocating a reformist Working Women's Charter which is so tame as to be acceptable in essence to the treacherous ACTU bureaucracy. Centrism is by nature an ephemeral political phenomenon. The CL must either repudiate feminism entirely in the course of moving toward genuine Trotskyism and a political break with the USec or it will find itself in the embrace of a "principled" fusion with the consistent feminists of the reformist SWP. ■

Ulster . . .

Continued from page one

port among key sectors of the workforce was evident from the beginning. The Ulster Workers Council (UWC), which in alliance with the UDA spearheaded the fight against the power-sharing executive, included a number of shop stewards at the shipyard and power plants. With a mass base in the factories and Protestant communities, the UWC strike dramatically demonstrated (albeit in support of reactionary sectarian ends) the social power of the working class, shutting down industry and organising distribution of food, petrol and vital services.

Most importantly, the 1974 battle had a clear target around which the mass of the Protestant population and its communal leaders could rally -- the 1973 Sunningdale agreement engineered by the Tory secretary for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw. Sunningdale had two dimensions: a provincial executive in which the Catholic-based Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) would be guaranteed a number of cabinet posts and an associated Council of Ireland in which the Northern executive and the government of the

Republic of Ireland would regularly consult and presumably find a basis (through joint British/Irish economic pressure) to force reunification of the island.

The agreement split the Official Unionist Party apart, and its leader Brian Faulkner, a staunch Orangeman, found himself denounced for selling out to the Catholic-clerical dominated Southern state. A faction of the Official Unionists led by Harry West allied itself with Paisley's DUP and the Ulster Vanguard grouping led by William Craig to block the agreement. When in May the SDLP and Faulkner's supporters in the Northern Ireland Assembly voted to support the Council of Ireland "in principle", the UWC launched its strike. Two weeks later, the power-sharing executive fell, and the province reverted to direct British rule.

Unilateral declaration of independence?

With the exception of Paisley and a handful of other politicians, the "respectable" Unionists who gave open or tacit support to the 1974 strike -- West, Craig, the Orange Order -- called on Protestant workers to oppose this one. While the reasons are steeped in the complexities of Ulster's constantly shifting political alignments, one central fact stands out. From the pro-strike UDA gunmen to the anti-strike Official Unionists (now led by Molyneux), the Protestants recognised that the logic of this strike led in the direction of a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI). With an eye on the South (where British investments are now greater than in Ulster) and on the seething Catholic population in the North, the Labour government dares not accede to the Paisleyite demand for a return to the pre-1972 Stormont parliament, which would bring back the gerrymander, the hated B-Special auxiliary police and all the trappings of full-blown Orange ascendancy.

Nor can London foist another Council of Ireland and/or institutionalised power sharing on the Protestant majority against their will. Instead, British prime minister Callaghan has typically opted for another temporising policy: a middle road of "administrative devolution", ie a regional authority but no local legislative body. He has sweetened the deal with a promise of more seats for Northern Ireland at Westminster and pleads for some form of window-dressing co-operation between the SDLP and the Unionists.

The Orange leaders are capable and quite willing to close ranks against any particularly objectionable British policy. But only the paramilitary groups and a handful of political desperados like Paisley (who genuinely lust for "Papist" blood) are willing to force the issue in a manner that could directly threaten the union if there is any alternative.

The left wing of Unionism

While the Ulster Protestants have been a distinct community, they have not asserted a separate national identity but have instead defined themselves largely negatively, in contradistinction to the Irish Catholics. The creation of an Orange nation is a narrow possibility based on the cohesiveness of the million Protestants in the North and their willingness to use any means to avoid submersion in the island's Catholic majority. Historically, the characteristic expression of the Ulstermen has been Unionism.

But the plebeian base of Unionism has been in turmoil for over seven years (since the civil-rights marches), and the rise of groups like the UDA and UWC indicates class tensions between the Protestant workers and their traditional leaders. In the absence of a revolutionary party, these tensions have been channelled into sectarian mobilisations.

While the bulk of the Irish and British socialist left has embraced (under various guises) Irish Catholic nationalism, one peculiar group, the British and Irish Communist Organisation (B&ICO) has gained a certain notoriety as "left" apologists for Unionism. During the 1974 Protestant strike, by its own account the B&ICO was mainly concerned with improving the sectarian strike's public image, downplaying opposition to power sharing and emphasising Protestant opposition to forcible reunification under the Council of Ireland. With UWC approval its front group, the Workers Association, distributed daily strike bulletins in Belfast's Orange strongholds.

The B&ICO began as a Maoist tendency based in the South and held up to 1969 a more-or-less conventional Stalinist/left Republican position that the island had to pass through a bourgeois-democratic revolution leading to an independent, united Ireland under capitalism. But the experience of the civil-rights movement (which increasingly mixed in Republicanism with defence of the democratic rights of northern Catholics) convinced the B&ICO of a salient fact of Irish/Ulster politics, which most of the left cheerleaders for the IRA seek to ignore: that the Protestants will resist unification with the southern Republic in which the church of Rome holds a privileged position.

However, going beyond recognition that support for Green nationalism cut the civil-rights movement off from the Protestant working class, the B&ICO gave free rein to a penchant for iconoclastic theorising and came up with a "two nation" theory that soon placed it squarely in the Unionist camp. Hewing firmly to the Stalinist "two-stage" schema, in which the immediate program is tailing after bourgeois nationalists, these "creative Marxists" simply switched bourgeoisies.

Trying to clamp its "two nations" theory on a considerably more ambiguous social reality, the B&ICO held that: 1) a distinct "Ulster Protestant nation" emerged on the basis of the industrial revolution in the North, defeat of the non-sectarian United Irishmen uprising in 1798, and economic conflicts between the export-oriented Northern capitalists and the weak, protectionist bourgeois forces of the Catholic "home rule" movement; and 2) this Protestant "national bourgeoisie" chose to exercise its right of self-determination not by forging its own state power, but by remaining within the



British troops rounding up "suspected IRA members".

multinational British state. In practice this has led the B&ICO to shamelessly endorse every measure of official repression (including internment!) directed against the Provos:

"The Provisionals are waging a war to overthrow the democratically expressed will of the vast majority of people and detach them from the state of their choice. The army is here to assert the will of the people and keep Ulster within the U.K.... the army is playing a democratic role." (*Workers Weekly*, 18 September 1976)

In its attempt to find a "democratic solution" within the confines of the Stalinist "two-stage" schema -- ie under capitalism -- the B&ICO can only choose between the Green card and the Orange card. It no more has an answer for the working people of Ireland, north and south, than do the Dublin and London governments. Although its choice of Unionism aligns it with more reactionary political forces, its policy is the symmetrical opposite of those fake leftists who embrace Irish Catholic nationalism, ie Republicanism. Catholics and Protestants alike, the B&ICO asserts, can transcend sectarian divisions by becoming British. What a far cry this is from the Marxist understanding of the necessity to organise the Protestant and Catholic workers on a class basis!

Life on the British dole is certainly more attractive than life under "Rome Rule" to the Ulsterman. Northern Catholics, however, understandably wince at the sight of the Union Jack and rage at the discriminatory treatment they suffer under Orange domination. The checkerboard intermingling of these peoples in the North precludes the ordinary bourgeois-democratic solution to the national question: establishment of a politically independent nation-state. But this does not mean that there are no immediate demands which Marxists can raise to unite the working people. On the contrary it is necessary to energetically demand British troops out of Northern Ireland and an end to discrimination against Catholics in housing and employment, oppose forced reunification and call for non-sectarian workers militias to combat indiscriminate terror.

The answer to the Ulster question will not be found on the terrain of bourgeois parliamentary horsetrading (power sharing, administrative devolution, Council of Ireland, etc) but only in the revolutionary mobilisation of the workers, Green and Orange, led by a Trotskyist party, which smashes British imperialism and overturns bourgeois rule. A democratic solution to the Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland can only come about with the creation of an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. ■

(adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 157, 13 May 1977)

CIA . . .

Continued from page one

strategic component of its worldwide counter-revolutionary military alliances -- ANZUS is hardly a secret -- nor that it would keep secrets from what is after all a *very junior* imperialist partner. However, whatever the CIA's "destabilising" activities in Australia, they certainly must have been a great deal more subtle than in Chile. Australia is no Chile and Fraser is no Pinochet.

The Australian bourgeoisie has every reason to protect the secrecy of the CIA. Why then have the bourgeois media, particularly Fairfax's Sydney tabloid, the *Sun*, run a spate of sensationalist exposes of CIA activity? A 5 May editorial in the *Financial Review* provided some useful insights: "The Australian business community ought to be especially concerned about the commercial implications" of CIA wiretapping, and the public must be *reassured* about the allegations which have surfaced. In other words, even the firmest of imperialist allies have *some* conflicting interests, and besides, to allow the real "dirty tricks" of CIA/ASIO to remain hidden a small amount of exposure is necessary. Without deluding itself that the bourgeoisie has any intention of curbing its secret police, the labour movement must demand *full disclosure* of all the secret dealings of these counterrevolutionary agencies!

In fact many of the "revelations" which have come out so far, particularly those concerning the sacking of the Whitlam government, were documented well over a year ago in Paul Kelly's book, *The Unmaking of Gough*. Shortly before his sacking on 11 November 1975 Whitlam accused Doug Anthony, National Country Party leader, of being tainted by CIA money. The ensuing flap led to the disclosure (first noted in Fairfax's paper for businessmen, the *Financial Review*, and only later repeated by Whitlam in Parliament) that Anthony's friend, Richard Stallings, who supervised the construction of Pine Gap, had been a CIA agent. The obvious implication was that there was more to Pine Gap than "communications". An alarmed CIA fired off a service-to-service cable to ASIO warning that any further disclosures would lead to rupture in the CIA's information exchange with its small-time counterpart. The following day Kerr, who had longstanding links with both ASIO and the CIA, dismissed Whitlam.

But various fake lefts, notably the reformist Communist Party (CPA) and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Labour League (SLL), have seized upon these "revelations" as "proof" of their contention that Whitlam's sacking was a CIA-masterminded coup. According to the CPA the CIA had Whitlam thrown out because he was about to lift the lid on CIA activities in Parliament on 11 November and thereby expose Pine Gap's real functions: "... tracking Soviet missiles in the event of nuclear war and *spying on Australia itself*" (*Tribune*, 4 May -- emphasis added). The SLL chimes in that the downfall of the Labor government resulted from a CIA "campaign of destabilisation ... throughout its term in office" (*Workers News*, 5 May). The Fraser government was then installed to take orders from "international capitalism and the Central Intel-

ligence Agency [four months ago it was the Japanese shipbuilders giving the orders] that the trade union movement must be smashed" (*Workers News*, 12 May).

There is little reason to doubt that the CIA/ASIO was at least sympathetic to, and likely involved in, Whitlam's dismissal. After twenty-three years out of federal office, the new ALP government quickly developed frictions with the established state bureaucracy -- especially ASIO -- which was accustomed to dealing with and loyal to a Liberal government. The bourgeoisie's traditional distrust of the ALP would easily reflect itself in the attitude of the CIA, already disturbed by the ALP's opposition to the Vietnam war.

ALP misleaders back CIA, ASIO

But Whitlam and the ALP tops have never called for getting rid of the CIA or ASIO. It was the Chifley Labor government which set ASIO up in the first place. And if Whitlam was about to lift the lid on CIA activities on 11 November 1975, why has he kept his mouth shut for the last nineteen months? If he didn't know all the details about Pine Gap, this chief executive for the bourgeois state certainly was aware that it was a base for counterrevolutionary activities directed against Southeast Asia and the Sino-Soviet deformed workers states. In his three years in office Whitlam had plenty of time to reveal all the dirty details of ANZUS, ASIO and the CIA.

Whatever the extent of the CIA's role in the political crisis, the Australian bourgeoisie did not need the CIA to spur it on to sack Whitlam, no more than it now requires "CIA orders" to crack down on the union movement. The bourgeoisie had lost patience with a social-democratic regime which was increasingly discredited and fast losing its ability to contain the working class in the midst of severe recession. Kerr's dismissal of the Labor government was an attack on the working class, not a "coup" against bourgeois democracy. While the ALP/ACTU misleaders counselled enraged workers to do nothing but vote for the ALP reformists in the ensuing elections, we called at the time for an immediate general strike to restore the Labor government.

The elaborate arguments of the CPA and SLL serve only two functions: to cover for the betrayals of the anti-working-class Whitlam government by painting it as a martyr of CIA "dirty tricks"; and to delude Australian workers into seeing foreign spies and "multi-nationals", not their own bosses, as their main enemy. We are not concerned with securing the "sovereignty" of the Australian bourgeoisie or protecting it from CIA "spying on Australia". For revolutionaries, the demands to send the CIA packing and to dismantle Pine Gap and all US bases are raised in the spirit of international class solidarity with the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia and military defence of the anti-capitalist deformed workers states.

Workers revolution will avenge CIA/ASIO crimes

Class-conscious workers must be far more concerned with the danger posed by CIA infiltration into the unions than by its spy capers against the Australian bourgeoisie. The independence of the labour movement from the bourgeois state and its police agents -- CIA or ASIO -- is a fundamental principle for revolutionaries. The NCC has long been suspected of being a major conduit for CIA funds into the union movement. Arch Bevis, the Transport Workers Union federal president, recently claimed (quoted in *Tribune*, 4 May) to have been offered money several years ago by a man claiming to be from the AFL-CIO (US equivalent of the ACTU) in return for "passive industrial policies". Furthermore, a number of right-wing and "moderate" union officials, including Laurie Short, Barry Unsworth and John Ducker, have attended "education" courses sponsored by the CIA-funded "international

department" of the AFL-CIO. All union ties with CIA-funded agencies must be broken!

CIA anti-union subversion is far more widespread in other countries. One of the major conduits for CIA infiltration into the union movement internationally, particularly in Latin America, is the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). According to material produced by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle grouping in the Communication Workers of America (CWA):

"Our union president, Joe Beirne [now dead], together with AFL-CIO President George Meany [a notoriously Cold-War anti-communist], was central in forming that international *anti-labor* organization.... Thousands of dollars of our union funds have been funneled into this outfit which has as one of its 'accomplishments' the systematic undermining of the Chilean workers movement and direct complicity in the bloody coup of September 1973." (MAC leaflet, 3 May 1974 -- emphasis in original)



Class-struggle militants in US communications union lead campaign against AIFLD, CIA "labour" front.

In its five-year history MAC, which stands on the Trotskyist Transitional Program and is politically supported by the Spartacist League/US, has consistently campaigned to get the CWA out of the AIFLD. Immediately following the Chile coup, these militants demanded their union's "support for the Chilean workers against the junta" and "that CWA break all ties" with the AIFLD (*Militant Action Report*, 16 November 1973). They have informed the union membership about the reactionary role played by AIFLD in the US-backed coups in Brazil in 1964 and the Dominican Republic in 1965. But they have consistently linked the role played by Beirne and Meany "in building such organizations as the A.I.F.L.D." to the bureaucrats' class-collaborationist policy that "the interests of workers are best served by helping the corporations.... We must therefore oust Beirne, Meany, and their kind, and build a Labor Party to fight for our interests ... *for a Workers Government!*" (MAC leaflet, 3 May 1974 -- emphasis in original).

Workers must maintain the utmost vigilance against the pernicious activities of the bosses' secret police. But the secret police are but one arm of the bosses' state, whose power resides ultimately in the army. And the bourgeoisie's most dangerous agents inside the labour movement are the pro-capitalist misleaders who claim to stand *with* the workers as they lead them to the slaughter. Even in Chile, it was not the CIA but the Chilean bourgeoisie and its army which massacred the cream of the Latin American proletariat; and, ultimately, the proletariat's worst enemies were those *within its ranks*, the Allendes and Corvalans, who betrayed it with promises of peaceful reform, whose popular-front "socialist" government maintained the "constitutionalist" army and its officer caste but refused to arm the workers. The Bolshevik Party despite all precautions was infiltrated by the Czarist secret police up into its top leadership echelons. But that did not prevent it from mobilising the Russian masses to seize power and finally mete out justice to the Czar's butchers -- because the Bolshevik Party was armed with a revolutionary program. And like the Russian workers, it is only through the seizure of state power guided by a Trotskyist party that the proletariat will finally deal with ASIO, the CIA and the criminal ruling class which stands behind them. ■

SPARTACIST

Number 23

(Fourth Internationalist)

An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism

Published for the Interim Secretariat of the international Spartacist tendency, in accord with the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency".

50 cents

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IRB . . .

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bosses. Less than two weeks before carrying out this betrayal, Hawke swore that there was no amendment or concession which could make the IRB bill acceptable (*Australian*, 5 May) and blustered about the "massive dislocation of the economic life of the nation" that would come if the union movement were forced to mobilise against it (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May). But several days later, when the bosses' economy was "dislocated" by a strike of air traffic controllers, who had been campaigning for two years for a 36 percent wage rise, it was reliable Bob Hawke who stepped in and denounced the strikers for not seeing their "legitimate problems" in the context of the wider problems being faced by the community and who rammed through a sellout which deferred their claims to the bosses' Arbitration Commission. Not only was it crucially necessary to defend the strike against the government's provocative threats of strikebreaking (including proposals for special anti-strike legislation and the use of the RAAF), but a strike victory could have paved the way for a generalised offensive to reverse the massive losses in living standards suffered by all workers over the last three years.

The only opposition in the ACTU leadership to Hawke's open betrayal came from officials of six "left-wing" unions, including the Communist Party (CPA)-influenced Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union (AMWSU) and the Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU), headed by Pat Clancy, president of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). While declaring their "complete opposition to these anti-union penal laws" (quoted in *Tribune*, 18 May), these reformist "lefts" have taken not a single step to mobilise their powerful unions in *strike action against the IRB*. The federal executive of the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations also claims total opposition to the IRB and the existing penal sanctions. The Hawke/Street deal has also received lip-service opposition from the federal ALP parliamentary caucus and the group of 26 "left" unions in the Victorian Trades Hall Council. Words come cheap for these bureaucrats, none of whom initiated the general strike which was necessary when the IRB bill was first introduced. But Hawke's betrayal cannot be passively accepted -- it must be repudiated through immediate strike action to smash the IRB and all penal powers!

But militant action is not to be expected from these left-talking labour fakers. "The surest way [!] to beat attacks on the working people", according to John Halfpenny, CPA leader and AMWSU secretary, "is to develop an alternative economic strategy ..." (quoted in *Tribune*, 18 May) -- the so-called People's Economic Program, endorsed by Clancy as well as the AMWSU. The thrust of this "alternative" is to offer Australian workers the opportunity to have a greater share of their exploited labour transferred from "foreign controlled companies" to home-grown bosses (albeit, in some cases, under "public" control) -- an "alternative" consistent with their chauvinist protectionist drive to "Buy Australian". The only real alternative strategy for workers is expropriating all the bosses under a workers government.

Neither promoting the Australian bosses nor making compromises with their government can stop the anti-working-class offensive. Fraser's IRB bill is the latest in a series of severe anti-union legislative measures, including a Western Australian law outlawing compulsory unionism and the Victorian Vital States Projects Act, initially designed to smash the Newport ban. (Despite its recent re-affirmation of the ban, the Victorian Trades Hall Council has done nothing to stop the scabs being brought in to work at the Newport site.) As we warned when these measures were first introduced, "The tendency toward an ever greater bourgeois state stranglehold over the unions can only be reversed by a union leadership committed to the destruction of that state" (*ASP* no 38, December 1976). Smash the IRB and all anti-union laws! Down with the Arbitration system! Oust the class traitors -- from Hawke to Halfpenny! For a revolutionary leadership of the working class! ■

REVOLUTIONARY LENINISM

An introductory class series on the history and basic theory of Leninism will be held at Sydney University, to begin in the week of 13 June.

Conducted by Sydney University Spartacist Club

For information telephone 660-7647



AUS . . .

Continued from page twelve

substitute for politically refuting their reactionary ideas. Whoever his assailants actually were, the attack on Danby must be condemned, but not out of any sympathy for this anti-communist Zionist and self-confessed police collaborator, despite his ALP membership. It was at best an act of wanton stupidity which only provides the ruling class with a potential pretext for repressive action and grist for its anti-communist propaganda mill.

But the anti-Maoist fake-lefts in AUS have joined the bourgeois and student press chorus denouncing "extremists" and their "reign of terror", as Victorian regional organiser, Sandy Thomas, termed it (in a letter to *Farrago*, 6 May), in order to demonstrate their "moderation" and to further their own power ambitions in AUS. Thomas went further, calling on "students of all political persuasions" (emphasis added) to unite against the Maoists. Following earlier allegations of Maoist intimidation of AUS officials, the SYA demonstrated its own disdain for the class line by demanding that the AUS "executive should take whatever action necessary to stop these attacks" (*Young Socialist*, April-May 1977 -- emphasis added). Such calls for action by non-proletarian agencies against the Maoists are simply an open door to bourgeois intervention into both student organisations and the socialist movement!

The simmering tensions between the competing "left" blocs in AUS came to a boil at an AUS Executive meeting the weekend of 6-8 May where the competing bureaucratic cliques traded equally credible charges of bureaucratic atrocities. The CPA/SYA swamp charged the Maoists with a campaign of intimidation which has left half the AUS officers "terrified". The Maoists rejoined by accusing their opponents of bureaucratically withholding \$1500 granted OSS for the Hisham Rais defence campaign by January Council. Jefferson Lee, *National U* editor, accused Peter O'Connor, AUS president, of interfering with his rights as editor. The anti-Maoists accused Lee of conveniently "losing" articles he didn't want to print and preventing O'Connor from inspecting *National U* copy. In one particularly disgusting incident a gang of young Maoist toughs viciously homosexual-baited O'Connor when he entered the *National U* office. Such despicable reactionary trash is nothing new for the Maoists, whose philistine adoration for the sanctity of the nuclear family with all the trappings of bourgeois morality reflects the most backward attitudes in the working class.

The character of *National U* plays a central role in this bureaucratic power play and illustrates the two factions' counterposed views on AUS. The Maoists have transformed the AUS paper into a vehicle for their venomous national chauvinism and anti-Soviet diatribes, suppressing other political viewpoints. Not that the "democratic left" is averse to political suppression itself: at the 6-8 May executive meeting it refused an OSS request for a minority report to be included in a special broadsheet on *National U* and the use of violence in AUS. O'Connor's ob-

correction

The article in *ASP* no 42 (May 1977) entitled "... losers go on wrecking binge" wrongly quotes Sue Bellamy as saying at the anti-Spartacist meeting at Sydney Women's House on 24 April that the women who, at the 17 April Sydney WLM special meeting, voted down Margo Moore's motion to exclude the SL were "voting cattle" who had been "duped" by the SL. In fact, neither Bellamy nor to our knowledge anyone else at that 24 April meeting used those words. However, those words accurately convey the thrust and tone of Bellamy's remarks about the opponents of the SL's exclusion, and we stand by our article's description of that meeting as essentially accurate. ■

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jection to *National U* is that it has "been directed to overseas political sectarian issues [!]" (quoted in the *Australian*, 6 May) and the SYA chimes in that the Maoists are not "interested ... in building the union" (*Young Socialist*, April-May 1977). Beneath all the hue and cry about "bureaucracy" and "violence" stand counterposed, equally rotten appetites: the Maoists want to transform AUS into a front group for their class-collaborationist "patriotic people's struggle"; their opponents want to maintain their bureaucratic niches by promoting narrow student issues which won't "alienate" students (which concerns them so much they even refused to support a Spartacist proposal to raise the demand for open admissions in the April mobilisation) and building student-powerist illusions that a "strong student union" can by itself squeeze economic reforms for students from the government.

We vehemently oppose suppression of any legitimate student political viewpoint (except fascist filth) and recognise that a student paper must deal with students' direct concerns. But it is precisely the broader social and political questions of society at large (yes, even overseas!) which must be presented to students. In that context it is the task of communists to convince students that these questions can only be resolved through *international proletarian revolution*. That requires the widest and freest political debate on all social issues.

All sides in this bureaucratic brawl -- not only the anti-labour right-wingers but also the reformist Maoists and "democratic" lefts -- are rotten to the core. Nonetheless, AUS must be defended against bourgeois/right-wing attacks. Not only would its destruction at the hands of the right be a setback for the great majority of students, more importantly it would signal a witchhunt against student radicals. But as communists, our task is not to organise students as students but to win students to building a Leninist vanguard party and fighting for workers revolution. ■

Stop deportations of Chileans!

According to reports from Amnesty International, four Chilean migrants have been deported back to the brutal military dictatorship in Chile in the past year. One of them has not been heard from since and is feared to be locked up in Pinochet's torture chambers. Upwards of another 120 "illegal" migrants may also be threatened with deportation and some thirty deportation orders have reportedly been processed already. The Fraser government and the Argentine military junta are the only two governments to deliver these refugees from right-wing repression into the bloodstained clutches of the Chilean dictatorship. The labour movement must mobilise its full resources to ensure that not one more migrant is shipped back to Pinochet's hellhole!

These latest deportations are part of a concerted attack by the government on political refugees and migrants in Australia. Malaysian student leader, Hisham Rais, and Italian migrant organiser (and member of the Italian Communist Party), Ignazio Salemi, are both under threat of deportation currently as well. Their fate cannot be left to the judicial discretion of the bourgeois state! Only the broadest mobilisation of the left and labour movement, including whatever industrial action is necessary, can stop these attacks. When the Chilean mineworkers' leader, Mario Munoz, then in hiding in Argentina, was threatened with arrest and deportation by the newly installed Argentine junta last year, it was only through a broad-based, labour-centred international defence campaign that he was rescued from a virtually certain death at the hands of Videla or Pinochet.

In Sydney an Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Deportations of Chileans has been established. This united-front committee was initiated by representatives of Antorcha, the Communist League, the Spartacist League and the Support Committee for the Chilean Resistance on the basis of two demands:

Stop the Deportations of Chileans!

Full Citizenship Rights to All Latin American Migrants, Legal and Illegal, in Australia!

To be successful this united-front campaign must be broadened and extended.

Any migrant returned to Chile is virtually being sentenced to death. The bloody junta must not be offered up any more victims for its terror machine. International solidarity to defend exiled Chilean militants helps prepare the day when the Chilean workers revolution smashes it for good.

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS!

FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL LATIN AMERICAN MIGRANTS!

SMASH THE JUNTA THROUGH WORKERS REVOLUTION!

A planning meeting to organise the defence campaign is to be held at 7.30 pm, Thursday, 2 June at 1st floor, 232 Castlereagh Street in Sydney. A similar planning meeting has been called by the Spartacist League in Melbourne for 7.30 pm, 8 June. Telephone (03) 62-5135 for location. All workers, socialists and those concerned with basic democratic rights are urged to attend.



Hawke embraces IRB

Oust the class traitors — down with all penal powers!

"Mr Hawke was adamant yesterday that the proposal was not a union compromise, but it is difficult to interpret it as anything else" said Murdoch's staunchly anti-labour Australian (16 May). Tony Street, Fraser's minister for employment and industrial relations, expressed his pleasure "with the decision of the special conference of federal unions convened by the ACTU, which has accepted the proposals for the establishment of an Industrial Relations Bureau [IRB] and the reconstitution of a National Labour Advisory Council [NLAC]" (Financial Review, 19 May). Robert J Hawke, president of the ACTU and the ALP, has a long and ignominious record of treason to the class he purports to lead. But the "compromise" lauded by Street and Murdoch may well be the most treacherous act committed by this labour traitor in his years of serving the interests of the exploiting class. Ever since hundreds of thousands of Australian workers poured out of the factories eight years ago to defend Clarrie O'Shea, the hated penal powers have lain idle. Last month Bob Hawke and his comrades-in-class-collaboration assisted in their revival.

The "non-compromising" resolution adopted overwhelmingly at the special 18 May meeting of ACTU delegates in Sydney endorses the creation of the IRB on the basis of "the existing pains and penalties and processes" contained in the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The bureaucrats received little in return for legitimising these

"pains and penalties" -- which include fines of up to \$1000 for unions and \$400 or twelve-month jail sentences for union officials who violate the no-strike provisions of the Industrial Court. The government promised only to defer the more far-reaching provisions of the IRB legislation to the budget session of Parliament in August and to have them discussed by the resuscitated NLAC, a joint union-management board. The deferred provisions, which would effectively outlaw most industrial actions and allow for massive fines, deregistrations and sequestration of union funds, would essentially have crippled the ability of the unions to act as defensive organisations of the working class. But the IRB remains an industrial police force with the power to initiate actions against the unions before the federal court. In accepting in principle the framework of the IRB and the penal provisions, Hawke and his cohorts have simply offered Fraser the opportunity to choose the time and place for reinforcing these union-bashing measures as he sees fit.



Labour traitors and friends: Hawke and Whitlam with Employers Federation head George Polites (fourth from left) and Arbitration head Sir John Moore (far left).

The burning necessity to replace this pack of scoundrels by a leadership committed to a policy of consistent class struggle could not be better demonstrated by their evident unwillingness to defend from ruling-class attacks even the very organisations upon which they base their bureaucratic sinecures. Their only principle is to maintain their cosy collaboration with the

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As right-wing attacks escalate AUS lefts wage clique war

Themselves under a concerted anti-communist attack by the bourgeois media and right-wing elements within the Australian Union of Students (AUS), the "left" bureaucrats who dominate AUS have for months been engaged in a vicious wrangle for power. Ever since the last January Council, when the Maoist Students for Australian Independence (SAI) captured control of the AUS paper and renamed it National U (the title it had before 1976), SAI and its supporters in the Maoist-influenced Overseas Students Service (OSS) have challenged the amorphous coalition of left liberals and reformists (primarily supporters of the

Communist Party of Australia [CPA] and the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Youth Alliance [SYA]) which still maintains a dominant position in the AUS officialdom. The subterranean feud for unbridled control has been fraught with petty intrigues and bureaucratic manoeuvres on both sides.

The clique warfare has served only to increase the general student disaffection with AUS and "student politics". The turnout for the April TEAS mobilisations was abysmally low. The right wing in AUS scored a significant moral victory in a recent AUS referendum when a proposed consti-

tutional amendment to replace the present collegiate system (which they claim tends to favour the left) with direct election of AUS officers was carried overwhelmingly at most of the large city universities, though it failed nationally. While direct election of AUS delegates, another amendment which was adopted (with practically no opposition), is a minimal democratic reform, the other amendment was designed simply to make national officers more autonomous from the policy-making annual January Council.

On 3 May, the night before the referendum vote at his campus, Melbourne University student Michael Danby, a leading figure in the "democratic" anti-communist crusade of DLP-aligned Democratic Clubs, Liberal Clubs, Zionists and right-wing ALP forces intent on "reforming" AUS, was bashed by two men who, he claimed, were carrying Eureka flags (the SAI ensign). The bourgeois media (particularly the Murdoch press empire) seized on the incident to escalate their months-long campaign against the "leftist-controlled" AUS and Maoist "extremist violence". In promoting Danby as a martyr of leftist "violence" and expressing a lofty concern for student democracy, these hypocrites are in fact concerned only with generating and maintaining a political climate for government crackdowns against militant unions and the left in general. Senator Carrick, the minister for education, has already issued an ominous warning that student "violence and threats of violence will not be tolerated" (Australasian, 5 May).

The Maoists are thugs. But state interference in AUS, particularly directed as it is against leftists, must be opposed. The SL is in principle opposed to violence and bureaucratic suppression within the left and workers movement. In general we also oppose violence against purveyors of right-wing and conservative views (but not right-wing action groups like fascists!) as a

Continued on page eleven

Political violence article featuring a photo of Michael Danby and a headline 'This student leader needs a guard'. The article discusses an incident where Danby was attacked by two men carrying Eureka flags.

Melbourne Herald, 13 May: bourgeois press sensationalises "extremist violence" to escalate anti-communist witchhunt.